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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE TESTIMONY OF A SLAVE.

From The Journal of Commerce.

WE have received from Atlanta, Ga., a pamplet entitled "Slavery and Abolitionism," written by a negro who subscribes himself, "Harrison Berry, the property of S. W. Price, Covington, Ga." This man is a full-blooded African, forty-five years of age, and learned to read and write while employed as an errand boy in a law office. He has since been a hard student, and has acquired a fair amount of information. This pamphlet is published by himself, and copyrighted for his benefit exclusively. He says in the preface, "I am a slave, and have been all my life, and therefore claim the opportunity, at least, of knowing what slavery is, and what it is not." He was induced to write upon the subject of slavery from a firm conviction that Abolitionist agitators are the worst enemies of the slave.

There could be no more befitting rebuke to the abolition meddlers than is conveyed in the words which come from this oppressed subject of their sympathy, who is "a slave," and "knows what slavery is." Moreover, the simple facts noted above are evidence sufficient to refute the assertion that the slave is a downtrodden creature, kept in ignorance, and debarred from all privileges. But it seems he is able to speak for himself. He writes:

"It is not that I am opposed to freedom, that actuates me to address them (the Abolitionists) in the manner in which I do, for I believe it to be one of the greatest blessings earthly, when not contaminated with fanatical dispositions. But rather would I die, were I a citizen of the United States, than to disturb the peace, or act in any way that would be detrimental to the onward progress and prosperity of my country. . . . It would be better for them, if they are acting on religious principles, to suffer wrong for the preservation of peace, than to exact their rights at the expense of disturbances.

"It cannot be said that you are so ignorant as to believe that you are benefiting the slaves, for you are an educated class of gentlemen, who take the Southern papers, and thereby are enabled to see and read for yourselves, that the slaves are much worse treated when that question is agitated. My dear sirs, upon you and your heads will cry more blood than any planter, or planters, of the South; for when the masters and slaves are getting on just as well as they wish to, you commence your infernal agitations. The master goes to town, he gets his paper, he reads that the abolition party is making a great to-do about freeing the slaves; he becomes sullen, contrary and ill; he goes to the field, and if the least thing is wrong, he is in the right humor for a fuss; he accuses the slave of idleness, the slave commences quarrelling; the master makes at him, the slave perhaps runs away; he is caught, and then made to feel the anger of a master goaded to madness by the officious intermeddling and hypocritical sympathy of a people who neither understand, nor wish to understand, his true position or his interest.

"It does seem that Brown's failure to instil into the breast of the slaves rebellious notions, ought to be a lesson for the balance of the fanatics. But just let them march their motley corps into the slaveholding States, expecting the aid of the slaves, and they will find that the Old Brown's gibbet will confront many a one of them. I tell you, fanatics, the slaves of the Southern States are getting too old to be humbugged by your eternal cry of *freedom!* They have heard it too much, and felt the effects too often, to be gulled any more. You must recollect, fanatical sirs, that the slave children, and their young masters and mistresses, are all raised up together. They suck together, play together, go a hunting together, go a fishing together, go in washing together, and, in a great many instances, eat together in the cotton patch, sing, jump, wrestle, box, fight boy fights, and dance together; and every other kind of amusement that is calculated to bolt their hearts together when grown up. You had better mind how you come here, and jump aboard of our masters; for I tell you, though we sometimes fight among ourselves, if another man jumps on either, we both pitch into him. You must recollect, that we are not oppressed here like your nominally free there. We can go into our masters' houses and get plenty of good things to eat; and we can shake hands with the big bugs of the country, and walk side by side with Congress members on the sidewalks, and stand and converse with gentlemen of the highest rank, for hours at a time. So, in short, we can do anything, with the exception of those privileges wrested from us in consequence of your diabolical, infernal, Black Republican, abolition, fanatical agitation.

"I have been told, and that, too, by men whose authority cannot be doubted by any who know them, that in the cities of non-slaveholding States it is a common thing to see poor, half-naked, and starving creatures standing on corners, begging every one passing by for a penny. And it is not at all surprising, when we consider the prejudice existing there against them. As for myself, I would rather have the law against me, and prejudice in my favor, than to have the law in my favor and the prejudice against me. For the decisions of the laws are always, in a greater or less degree, subject to prejudice. The colored man is a colored man anywhere. He is but the tool North, and the servant South.

"But, perhaps, you will say, in the face of all this, 'our colored people are not subject to a separation from their families, as the slaves are'; I would rather have my wife sold ten thousand miles from me, with a master that I knew was bound by the laws, and his interest, to protect her and the children, than to be with her and the children without food, and no way under God's heaven to make it—sitting in some damp cellar.

"Perhaps the reader has not forgotten what I stated in the first of this address. I there stated that slavery consisted in the absolute power one individual had over another. It matters not from what source this power is derived; it is all the same with the subordinate, with the single exception: that the slave is a slave for life, with a master that is bound, by the laws, to protect him; and the other, a subordinate for life, with no protection. Masters, I most beseechingly wish you to read the following to your slaves, and tell them it is the request of one that is their brother in bondage. For I believe, if the slaves were undeceived respecting their chance of enjoying freedom, anywhere within the incorporate limits of the United States, or, in fact, anywhere on the continent of North America, they would not change places with the poor white man North. But while they are deceived in believing that they are worse off, and worse treated, than any one else, it is natural that they should be dissatisfied. But if you remove this gloom over their eyes, and enable them to see, not only their true position, but, also, that of the millions of the poor and oppressed, not only in Europe, Asia, and Africa, but in the Northern States of America; and if hundreds of them, on plantations, even knew how hard run some are in the Southern cities to live comfortable, they could see, clearly, that their enslavement, under all circumstances by which it is surrounded, is not such a curse as they thought it was. After they become convinced that their position is better than four-fifths of mankind, they will cast aside all foolish hopes of bettering their condition, and be enabled to view the four-fifths of the laboring population of the country as being in a far worse condition than they are themselves. This would create within them a satisfaction with their lots sufficient to make them trustworthy n the most difficult times"

Selections.

SOUTHERN SECESSIONISTS AND NORTHERN DISUNIONISTS.

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

WE have freely denounced the Southern Secessionists as guilty of the basest perfidy and the blackest treason; yet, for the last twenty years, we have been zealously seeking a dissolution of the Union. Wherein, then, do we find their condemnation, and our own justification? We answer—

The right of a State to secede from the Union, *ad libitum*, "for no reason" (as some maintain), is a doctrine never advocated by us, or by the Anti-Slavery Society. We are Disunionists on very different grounds.

In adopting their National Constitution, the people of the United States made no provision for any such secession, and recognized no such right. In providing a legal and popular method for the amendment of that instrument, to any extent, in accordance with the democratic theory, they evidently believed the Union would continue "one and indivisible" to the latest posterity. They did not make it to be dissolved, but to be perpetuated. "The Constitution," says Mr. Webster, "does not provide for events which must be preceded by its own destruction. Secession, therefore, since it must bring these consequences with it, is REVOLUTIONARY." And he adds:

"The State Constitutions are established by the people of the States. This Constitution is established by the people of all the States. How, then, can a State secede? How can a State undo what the whole people have done? How can she absolve her citizens from their obedience to the laws of the United States? How can she annul their obligations and oaths? How can the members of her Legislature renounce their own oaths? Secession, as a *revolutionary* right, is intelligible; as a right to be proclaimed in the midst of civil commotions, and asserted at the head of armies, I can understand it. But as a practical right, existing under the Constitution, and in conformity with its provisions, it seems to me to be nothing but a plain absurdity; for it supposes resistance to government, under the authority of government itself; it supposes dismembership, without violating the principles of union; it supposes opposition to law, without crime; it supposes the violation of oaths, without responsibility; it supposes the total overthrow of government, without revolution."

If, then, no State has a right to secede "without cause," has it a right to secede for any cause? The answer to this is—not a constitutional right (for, as we have said, no provision is made for secession, under any pretext whatever), but, it may be, a revolutionary right, for the cause set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

Let us see, therefore, whether those States which have seceded from the Union find any justification in history, reason, or the right of rebellion or revolution, for the course which they have pursued. May they take for their defence, on patriotic grounds, the motto, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God"—or, on Christian grounds, the text, "We ought to obey God rather than man"? If they may, then the world will give them an applauding verdict; if they may not, then it will doom them to everlasting infamy.

What are the plain, undeniable facts?

1. The people of the revolted States gave their sanction to the Constitution, in common with the people of the United States. They made it "the supreme law of the land, anything in any State Constitution, or in the laws of any State, to the contrary notwithstanding." They solemnly agreed to be governed by it. It is to be specially remembered that the two States which have raised hostile weapons to strike down the Constitution—namely, South Carolina and Georgia—were those which imperatively dictated its terms, and shaped it at the beginning to suit themselves, refusing to be a portion of the Union, unless the pro-slavery guaranties they demanded were amply secured. Now they rebel against the very form of government they prescribed, and trample under their feet the instrument they agreed to uphold! For—

2. The Constitution remains unchanged to this hour, and every one of its pro-slavery guaranties has been fulfilled to the letter.

3. The South, from the adoption of that instrument up to the hour of secession, has always had a controlling influence in shaping the policy and ruling the destiny of the nation. She has had the "lion's share" of office and emolument in every department of the government, whether at home or abroad, and the control of the army, navy, and treasury, so as to advance her own interests at the expense of every other section of the country. She has held absolute mastery over the North, by intimidation, violence, political corruption, and fraud. "There *is* no North," said Mr. Webster, and he spoke truly. Hence—

4. The South has rent the Union asunder without being able to show a bruise or a scratch, or an outrage of any kind. She may not, therefore, take refuge in the example of our revolutionary fathers, nor quote in her defence the doctrines laid down by them in the Declaration of Independence; for they neither assisted in the formation of the British government, nor had any share in its administration, being deprived of all representation, and subjected to injuries and outrages as intolerable as they were inexcusable. Under such circumstances, and with reference to strictly parallel cases, well might they affirm it to be among self-evident truths, "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends [to wit, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"] it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." But, even in such an extremity, they justified no excess, and advocated nothing precipitate. "Prudence, indeed, will dictate," they said, "that governments, long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes"—much less for no causes at all! It is only "when *a long train of abuses and usurpations*, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM," that it is the right and the duty of the people to "throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security." How carefully considered and how guardedly expressed were their words! What dignity and circumspection characterized all their proceedings! If they could audibly speak from their graves, would they not indignantly resent the imputation that, in their sacred charter of revolution, the Southern traitors and buccaneers may find their warrant for overthrowing the Union, and forming an independent confederacy of their own? Of what "long train of abuses and usurpations" has the South to complain? Where has there been a wish or design evinced to reduce her "under absolute despotism," or to do anything injurious to her interest or welfare? The wrong, the violence, the usurpation, the tyranny, have all been on her side, and against the longsuffering, calculating and patient North. Hers is the position of the apostate angels, and in the words of the arch-fiend she exclaims—

"but of this be sure,
To do ought good never will be our task,
But ever to do ill our sole delight,
As being the contrary to his high will
Whom we resist. If, then, his providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labor must be to prevent that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil;
Which oftimes may succeed, so as perhaps
Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb
His inmost counsels from their destined aim.
Let us not slip the occasion, whether scorn
Or satiate fury yield it from our foe; . . .
And, reassembling our afflicted powers,
Consult how we may henceforth most offend
Our enemy; our own loss how repair;
How overcome this dire calamity;
What reinforcement we may gain from hope;
If not, what resolution from despair. . . .
Farthest from him is best. Hail, horrors, hail,
Infernal world! And thou, profoundest hell,
Receive thy new possessor! one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place or time:
Here we may reign secure, and, in my choice,
To reign is worth ambition, though in hell:
Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven!"

If the Secessionists cannot find even the shadow of an excuse for their revolt, either in the Constitution which they helped to frame and adopt, and which they have ever been eager exclusively to administer, or in the Declaration of Independence—either in the doctrine of "State sovereignty," or in the theory of democratic representation—what shall be said of their perfidious seizures of fortifications, arsenals, custom-houses, mints, revenue cutters, and other property of the United States? what of their daring robbery of the national treasury, and their secret transfer of money, arms, and soldiers to the South, through the complicity of their agents in the various departments at Washington, under the last Administration, while pretending to be anxious for the preservation of the Union? what of their repeatedly firing upon the national flag without provocation, not a single shot being given in return? and, finally, what of their unprovoked bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter, in order to prevent its occupants from being supplied with food, and to precipitate a fierce and bloody civil war, which they madly hope will end in the subjugation of the North to their Satanic rule? More and worse than all this—what shall be said in regard to the principles they avow, the doctrines they promulgate, and the object they have in view? Do they not outrage the moral sense of mankind, advocate absolute despotism even to the extent of making merchandize of their fellow-men, deny that the Creator has given to all his rational creatures an inalienable right to liberty, crush out freedom of speech and of the press wherever they hold dominion, and trample upon all that is sacred, holy, and just? Have they any other purpose in view, except the utter subversion of free institutions, and the extension and perpetuation of their monstrous slave system, which is the embodiment of all forms of tyranny, and all degrees of violence and outrage, licentiousness and pollution, theft and robbery, usurpation and blasphemy? Aside from slaveholding, slave-breeding, and slave-trading, on an unlimited scale, what motive have they for withdrawing from the Union? They constitute the most lawless, desperate, barbarous, mobocratic, tyrannical, and profligate body of wrong-doers to be found in the world. After having abolished marriage among their four million human victims, and forced them to cohabit like the beasts of the field—taken from them all power of choice, and all the fruits of their industry—denied them the right of testimony against those of a white complexion, no matter what may have been the cruelties perpetrated upon them—doomed them for life to be "chattels personal, to all intents, purposes, and constructions whatsoever"—prohibited them, under severe penalties, all educational knowledge—made yokes for their necks, manacles for their limbs, and whips for their backs—trained bloodhounds to hunt them down whenever they seek deliverance from their terrible fate by flight—enacted laws for their subjugation, incomparably worse than Draco's code, whereby they may be subjected to every species of torture, even to being BURNT ALIVE, with impunity—what else can they do to augment the enormity of their guilt? We deal in no exaggerated language. All these things are true of them as a class, whatever exceptional cases may exist among them, calling for a less awful verdict.

Now, Heaven forbid that they should be in any manner identified with those at the North, who are endeavoring to effect a peaceful dissolution of the Union! The parties are wide as the poles asunder. The latter are justified in all that they demand, by every principle of justice, every claim of humanity, every law of God; by the patriotism of 1776 and the Christianity of the first century. They are the friends of impartial freedom, and, therefore, the enemies of no man; they cherish no sectional feelings, but are animated by a world-wide spirit; they desire to fill the whole land with the abundance of peace, and to make its prosperity like the waves of the sea; they stand in the ranks of those who, in all ages, have cheerfully "endured the cross and despised the shame," for righteousness sake. Misunderstood, calumniated, and proscribed, they see of the travail of their souls, and are satisfied. As God lives, it is impossible that they can fail to be otherwise than honored by posterity. They are neither fanatical nor misled, but in their right minds, faithful in a faithless age, witnessing to the truth, protesting against the wrong, disseminating light and knowledge, and elevating the moral standard of the times.

"But they go for a dissolution of the Union—so do the Southern secessionists—and wherein lies the difference?" We answer—

1. It lies in their reverence for the "higher law," as paramount to all human enactments and compacts. The issue they present is one of personal integrity, moral consistency, and true religion. The Constitution, in its pro-slavery guaranties, as assented to and enforced ever since its adoption by the nation, they feel bound to pronounce, in the language of the prophet, "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," and therefore unworthy of confidence, as well as surely destined to be overthrown. As it ought never to have been made, so it ought not any longer to stand. The South had no right to require any such guaranties, and the North none to grant them. Both parties are under the highest moral obligation to cancel them—the former by the immediate abandonment of her slave system, and the latter by declaring them to be null and void by reason of their inherent iniquity. No matter what consequences may follow: the consequences of right doing can never prove ultimately disastrous; for if they lead through the flood or the fire—into the lion's den or the burning furnace—they also lead to glory and eternal life. The infatuation rests with those who say, "When the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves"; for, in due time, "the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place." The fanaticism is seen on the part of those who "trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon"; for, in the end, "this iniquity shall be as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant." To-day is the prediction verified!

2. The difference lies in the principles and measures of the disunion Abolitionists. Those principles are based on eternal justice and unswerving rectitude, such as have been recognized by the wise and good in all ages, and the rejection of which is sure to be followed by heavy judgments. Those measures are peaceful and legitimate, being simply the employment of the pen and press, and the voice of the preacher and lecturer, to reach the consciences and hearts of the people by a powerful application of the truth, as in the effort for the overthrow of heathenism abroad, and the suppression of intemperance at home. The whole movement is simply one of TESTIMONY and EXAMPLE. The message to be proclaimed is, as of old, "Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters! To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord. Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me: the new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with: it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. YOUR HANDS ARE FULL OF BLOOD. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do well; SEEK JUDGMENT, RELIEVE THE OPPRESSED; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow. . . . If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse and rebel, *ye shall be devoured by the sword:* for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." Again, it runs in this manner: "Undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free: then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noonday: and the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not. And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations: and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in."

Such is Northern abolition disunion, in contrast with Southern pro-slavery secession. The former is based upon the eternal fitness of things, and animated by a noble, disinterested, and philanthropic spirit. The latter is the concentration of all diabolism.

CIVIL WAR.

From The Christian Inquirer, April 20.

IT is now just fourteen years this spring since the United States precipitated itself in a war upon Mexico. In a few months after it was falsely declared that "war existed by the act of Mexico," no less than 300,000 volunteers, principally from the South and the West, offered themselves to the government to help carry fire and sword into the cities and homes of a sister republic. We thought then, and we think now, that for an act so unjust and cruel, waged, as its apologists confessed, to extend the regions devoted to human bondage—waged upon a weak, distracted, and neighboring power—we must, as a nation, sooner or later, come to a fearful reckoning. Judgments, in the popular and superstitious sense of God going out of the way, so to speak, not irreverently, to strike a blow, we do not believe in; but judgments in the sense of punishments coming through the violations of the laws of God, we do believe in most heartily and thoroughly. We are about to be judged and punished by a civil war, engendered by the same passions as those which led our armies to the halls of the Montezumas. Slavery is the bone of contention now, and it was for slavery that that war was carried on. God uses our pleasant, vices to scourge us. That region of the country most loud in advocating the Mexican war, is now resounding with the march of armies; its cities and forts are the points of battle, and its interests are palsied by the shock of civil war. So does a Divine Providence keep with nations, as with individuals, its strict reckoning, and brings every work into judgment, whether it be good or whether it be evil. The same passions, in other words, which led us then to break the peace with a friendly power, lead us now to break the peace with one another. Mexico sees herself avenged. The same batteries and forces that were so recently engaged in laying waste her cities and slaughtering her people, are now turned against the bosom of the nation itself. Our great sin has found us out.

The next thought is the evil and wickedness of war—all war, civil war as well, but perhaps not more than other war. The bowie knife and revolver civilization is a bad type. They that take the sword shall perish by the sword. Civil war is worse than other war, because it is a bloody quarrel in the family; but all war is wicked, on one side or both. And the immense armaments provided by modern nations are so many premiums upon the hostile act. Men cannot thus be always whetting the sword, and brandishing it in each other's faces, without occasionally putting its temper to the proof, and devoting it to the purpose for which it was manufactured—of taking human life. It is blood-red war that turns what have been called "the harlequins of the nineteenth century" into the actors in a terrible tragedy. The cultivation, therefore, of the war spirit, the *éclat* of the successful generals, the raising to high office and honor of the victorious captains, have virtually substituted, in our country, the civilization of Mars for the civilization of Christ. We render to Cæsar our first loyalty, and give to God the poor remains.

We are learning many things rapidly. We are put to a fast school. One thing we are now learning is, that that old truism, reiterated in lyceums and school addresses and reports, until none was so poor as to do it reverence—that freedom can only be secured by intelligence and virtue—is coming up with terrible earnestness. We have said again and again, that such nations as Spain and Portugal and Austria were not in a situation to have Republican institutions, and maintain the experiment of self-government. And scarcely are we, in the most educated portions of the country, competent to that task. But in the slave States, where, by the very nature of the institutions, the population is sparse, and the free schools are few and far between, it virtually becomes an impossibility to sustain free institutions of speech, press, ballot box, trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, and the rest. Where the population can be numbered by thousands and tens of thousands that cannot even read and write, the relapse from the Constitution of the United States to a slave code and the slave trade, civil war, or any moral portent, is a foregone conclusion. States may be held for awhile by main force in the orbit of freedom, by cohesion with States where the schoolmaster has been abroad; but in the end, as has now proved to be the case, the centrifugal force will overcome the centripetal, and the Union flies to pieces. The Southern States have multitudes of excellent, religious, and intelligent citizens. That, of course, is understood. But what we mean is, that the great mass of the white people in the seceded States are not in a condition to maintain free institutions. There is not intelligence enough among the masses to keep the machine of a Republican government in healthy action. It is as much as we can do, with all our appliances of free schools, free pulpits, free presses, free speech, free libraries, and free colleges, to keep the slate-and-spelling-book States up to the mark, especially with the vast emigration of people otherwise bred from Europe. But for South Carolina and her seceding sisters to attempt the impossible union of self-government and popular ignorance, is to ask fire and water to agree. It cannot be done. It may be done for a time; but the experiment will run out. Slavery, therefore, denying, as it does and must, popular intelligence, hastens on swift feet to its own place in the moral and political scale, which is an absolute despotism.

May it not be truly said, of considerable portions of our country, that they are not sufficiently enlightened to have any other than an aristocratic and monarchical rule of some sort or other? It is a hard word to say; but the question is, whether it is not true. How can free institutions be supported in one respect when they are denied in others. How can there be the ballot where there is not the free school; or freedom in debate where one interest is king; or the progress of republican institutions where a handful of slaveholders control the property, politics, and destiny of millions?

God grant that the madness and folly of a civil war may soon be brought to a close! We must settle the matter sometime and somehow; let it be settled at once, before we have wasted rivers of blood and millions of treasure. But we need some great chastisement for our ingratitude, our slavery, our Mammon worship and our many deep-dyed sins. We have the wisdom of humanity and charity still to learn as national characteristics. Let us hope that the awful lessons now administered may not fall on stopped ears and seared consciences.

Civil war is, indeed, a terrible thing. It cannot be too much deprecated or mourned. But it has really existed, in some of its features, for a long time. It rioted in Kansas for years; it has broken out in the Southern country in attacks upon free Northern citizens, some of whom have been scourged, some imprisoned, tarred and feathered, and some hung. No other nation on earth, however powerful, would have been allowed, without open war, to have maltreated the citizens of the free States, as in many instances they have been by their so-called brethren. Perhaps open war is less repulsive to our moral feelings than mobs, riots, lynchings, hangings, and burnings. And all these have been the not rare features of Southern life for years past, and they seem of late to have been augmenting.

Since war, therefore, has now been begun by the act of the seceding States, there is but one possible course to be pursued by the President consistent with his oath of office, and that course he is pursuing. He is shut up to one plan and one only. He is under the most solemn obligations to God and his country to use all the powers of the government in their most energetic action to preserve the Union and the Constitution, and to cause the laws to be obeyed in every part of our common country. Any other course is anarchy and ruin and shame. And it becomes the duty of every true American to respond to the call now made by the President, and to know no party, no section, no prejudice—to know nothing but God and his country, and to give his prayers and his means for the preservation of the temple of freedom and humanity.

SECESSION AND SLAVERY.

"THE death blow to slavery was struck at Charleston, South Carolina, at daybreak, on Friday, by its own most devoted advocates and friends." Thus declares the Montreal *Gazette*, and there are many who feel that that blow was, indeed, the beginning of the end of this barbarous institution. The North has never made war upon this institution, and has never proposed to. Under the flag of the Union, it was as safe to those interested in it as the cotton mills of Massachusetts were to their owners. And it is doubtless true that it is not, and cannot be, safe, out of the Union. The rebellious States can make no general movement of war against the government at all adequate to meet the force that will be brought against them, without leaving themselves exposed to the most fearful insurrections. It is nonsense to talk about the blacks generally fighting for their masters. The slaves of the South are not fools. They have had their ears open. Many of them, with abundance of white blood in their veins, intelligently apprehend the condition of things in this country, and the exact nature of the struggle. There are four millions of these bondmen who not only hate slavery, but hate their masters and overseers. They are just as little to be depended upon by the slaveholders as the democrats of the North have nobly proved themselves to be, in this crisis.

We hear much about the affection slaves have for their masters and mistresses. We know there is much of this among house and body servants in the towns, but on the plantations, and wherever they are employed in gangs, under overseers, there is no such thing as affection for the master known. It is all fudge, therefore, on the part of slaveholders, to talk of not being afraid of their slaves. We know better, for we have lived among them, and have passed through one of their insurrection panics. We know with what a sense of insecurity tens of thousands of families lie down to sleep at night, and with what suspicions their lives are daily tormented. Now let the South be weakened by the withdrawal of all its fighting men and fighting materials, to meet the forces of the government, and let the blacks understand their advantage, as they certainly will, and no power could hinder one of the most awful insurrections that can be conceived.

If the result of the present conflict by any possibility be the permanent separation of the slave and free States, slave property in the border States would be valueless. No treaty that would ever be made between a Northern and Southern confederacy would embrace a fugitive slave clause. The border of Canada would practically be moved down to the line of the slave States, and the locomotive property would move rapidly over it. Under the operation of a Northern and Southern confederacy, slavery could not last in the border States for ten years. One half of the slaves would run away, and the other half would be sent southward. The formation of a distinctive Southern Confederacy and its maintenance, would insure the abolition of slavery in the border States in a very few years. And now we declare that one of the most humiliating things in the whole business is, that slavery can find its only safety in the Union. The war is to be no child's play. The friends of the country will remove such obstacles as are in the way of the reëstablishment of the authority of the government.—*Springfield Republican.*

DESIGNS OF THE CONSPIRATORS.

NEW YORK, Thursday, April 18, 1861.

DURING a sojourn of several months in the Gulf States, and more particularly in the very hotbed of secessionism, South Carolina, and at its very fountain head, Charleston, I obtained possession of several very important facts, which it is absolutely necessary the North should know at this particular time.

While in Charleston I was thrown into constant communication with the leading spirits of the Southern Confederacy from all the seceded States, and having had superior facilities of information, I propose to lay down *four* distinct *facts*, which, as they were plainly and openly stated to me as a part of the programme of the new Confederacy, it is important that the North should know them, as forewarned, they will be forearmed.

Firstly, Jeff. Davis, his coadjutors and abettors, have laid down on their political chess board, from the very outset, that the capital of the nation, Washington, is to be seized. For this purpose, that dangerous fellow and arch-traitor, Ben. McCulloch, was sent to Virginia, after he had accomplished his infamous work in Texas.

It was assumed that if the conspirators could seize Harper's Ferry, with the 90,000 stand of arms, and could get hold of Fortress Monroe, by a *coup de main*, that Virginia would have to secede whether she wished to or not. Thus sure of Virginia's strong points, they would march on Washington, fortify the heights that command the city, and force Mr. Lincoln and his entire Cabinet into an ignominious flight. This done, they would raise the Confederate flag on the national Capitol, and bid defiance to all the free States. The capital of the nation seized, and the *prestige* of the Republic gone, they would find it an easy matter to dictate terms to the representatives of the *ex* Stars and Stripes. This part of the programme was all arranged, and I was permitted to see every detail of it. There was no pledge of secrecy, and, therefore, I have no hesitation in openly stating it.

Secondly, as part and parcel of the first, agents *have* been and are *still* sent to every Northern arsenal and establishment for the manufacture of arms and munitions of war, for the purpose of gauging accurately the exact amount of warlike material each establishment can turn out daily. The agents of the C. S. A. are specifically instructed to try and overbid any offers made by the Federal government for cannon, guns, etc., furnished at these establishments. If they could not offer cash for orders, they were authorized to proffer munificent grants of land, and payment by notes at some future time, with interest allowed, at compound rates. This it was, and still *is* supposed, would tempt Northern cupidity and the assumed love of the "Almighty Dollar."

Thirdly, a careful list has been prepared of all the officers of the *Army* and *Navy*, with tabular columns, as follows: "*Reliable, Unreliable, Doubtful.*" The reliable were supposed to be those who were born South, and had married South, and, therefore, had Southern affiliations. The "Unreliable" covered those who were born North, had married North, and from their previous antecedents, were supposed to be positively and unmistakably for the North, and the North only. The "Doubtful" covered that class who had no special affiliations either way, but who simply adopted war as a profession, and who would be very apt to adopt either side, just according as there was a chance of promotion or of superior emoluments. These men were to be seduced by offers of superior pay and grants of land, which were to be so proffered as to dazzle the imaginations of those who were likely to be affected by such magnificent promises.

Fourthly, The C. S. A. wish the moral support of England and France, and earnestly hope that their agents will obtain a recognition, and, therefore, they have, in the Conventions that have ratified the Constitution, passed over the *slave trade* prohibition. But *when* they obtain this hoped-for recognition, and feel sure and safe in their Southern Confederate seats, they will gradually relax their assumed hostility to the open slave trade, and, first commencing with *private* importations of negroes from *Cuba*, they will, after awhile, throw off the mask and openly and avowedly advocate the reopening of the African slave trade as a political necessity. In this connection, South Carolinians have openly assured me, within the past month, that if they did not import direct from Africa within a few years, that they could not carry on their peculiar system of government; that there were vast tracts all through the Gulf States lying idle, simply because white men could not work there, and they had no surplus of the black race to occupy and till the soil; and that, as "Cotton was king," and it land must have it—if they could import direct and cultivate their now unused fields, they would have all the world completely at their mercy.

The above are *facts, absolute facts*, and your readers may rely on them implicitly. Let me add, in connection with the above, that where there is *one* spy sent South from the North, there are a *hundred* employed North working for the South. I have all the details of this infamous movement, and *know* that these spies and traitors still hold office in *Washington*. They fill high places in New York and other cities; and while assuming to be *Union* men, they are daily and hourly striking at the very vitals of the national heart.

Let the North arouse itself, and let it understand that all who cannot swear positively that they are for us, are positively against us. Let them see to it, that the sacred porticoes of the national Capitol are protected from the attacks of an unscrupulous foe, who openly proclaim that the only true Republic is an absolute slave Republic; and let them concentrate at once such an overwhelming force close to the grave of the great Father of his Country, that Jeff. Davis and his insolent myrmidons dare not lift a finger against it.—*Times.* JASPER.

THE WAR AND WHAT MAY COME OF IT.

From The New York Times.

THE secession of Virginia has cleared the skies. A treacherous enemy has deserted our ranks, who, while she remained, was incessant in her efforts to encourage the rebellion, to shield its outrages, and to arm the traitors, with an assurance that she would join them at the right moment in overthrowing a government which she has been embarrassing to the utmost of her power by a feigned loyalty. She has now elected to make her soil the battle field. She could not have done us a better service.

If secession was incomplete without Virginia, we can crush it in its great leader, who brings it directly within reach of our blows. In dictating terms to Virginia, we can do it to the whole Union. *We can dictate these at Richmond in sixty days, if we will.* We can now make the war a short one. It should be ended in one campaign. A column of 25,000 men should, at the earliest moment possible, march from Washington on Richmond. Another, equally strong, should proceed from James River to Fort Monroe. Resistance to two well-appointed armies would be impossible. Once at Richmond, we should hold 500,000 slaves, rated in Virginia to be worth four hundred million dollars, as hostages for the good conduct of the enemy. Should we be forced to extreme measures, all the other States would take warning by the example made of their great leader. If Mr. Lincoln does not now strike an effectual blow, upon him will rest the responsibility of a prolonged and cruel war. If Mr. Buchanan had, at the right moment, seized and hung a half dozen of the traitors, treason would have been quelled, and thousands of innocent lives, and the waste of hundreds of millions of property, would have been saved. Let Mr. Lincoln take warning by the criminal neglect of his predecessor, and learn that, in a great emergency, prompt action, which may involve 10,000 lives, will be the certain means of saving ten-fold that number, and the horrors of a prolonged civil war.

In Virginia, as the head and front of secession, we have a position the most vulnerable to attack. We hold complete control of all her outlets to the seas. With Maryland remaining loyal, we command her on every side but one. From Fort Monroe expeditions can penetrate by water far into her interior. Washington will soon be an immense fortified camp. Expeditions can penetrate the State from Pennsylvania, at numerous points on the North, and on the West from the Ohio, should not that section prove loyal, as we firmly believe and hope it will. Threatened on every side, she can concentrate no large bodies of troops, if she had them. If she had such, she could not keep them in the field, for want of means. She has no money in her treasury. She cannot borrow a dollar, nor can she raise any considerable sums by taxation.

At the very moment we are striking a blow at Virginia, we should fit out a large naval and military force to operate against the cotton States. Both Charleston and Savannah might be threatened and captured by a force landed at Port Royal, a deep estuary about equi-distant from these two cities. The capture of the city of Mobile, which is almost entirely unprotected, would be an easy matter. New Orleans might be threatened or assailed at the same time. Such an expedition would keep President Davis and all the forces he could raise at home, constantly on the look out for his winged enemy, which, beyond reach of attack, could select its own time and place to deal a decisive blow. Such a force would compel Virginia to fight out her own battles single-handed, and with probably half of her people loyal, against the overwhelming force of the United States.

In this contest two issues of the deepest moment are involved: the supremacy of the laws, and the moral and political superiority of the North. We cannot admit the right of secession, because we cannot admit a proposition that involves our own destruction. If the will of a particular community, or individual, is paramount, then we accept anarchy as our necessary condition. We will never admit such a proposition. We will fight to the last man and the last musket first. Neither will we admit slavery to be equally desirable as freedom. We will live up to our compact, and protect it as property in every loyal State, as we have done without complaint for seventy years. But when slavery assumes a hostile attitude, and is fighting to put a chain round our necks, we will put forth all our power to confine it within its present area, and if no other resort is left us, we will proclaim *freedom* in its place. Mr. Davis has taken the initiative, and invites pirates and privateers to prey upon our private property. We will show him that we can retaliate with thousand-fold force, and remove from our system an element which has brought upon us our present misfortunes, which has always been a source of discord, and which must always continue to be so while it exists.

Another point of great strategical importance is Cairo, at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. This commands completely the States of Missouri and Kentucky, and a portion of Tennessee, and would be an admirable base of operations for a force sent down the Mississippi. Upon this point a large force should be immediately concentrated, amply supplied with materials and munitions of war.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, in his proclamation inviting application for letters of marque and reprisal against Northern commerce, has hung out the true flag of the Confederates. Nothing more was needed to secure for the Southern movement the scorn and indignation of the civilized world. If there had been any doubt before of the attitude of commercial men in this country, and of the commercial interest throughout the world, towards the new Confederacy, this proclamation would have ended them. Under any circumstances, privateering has become an odious, indeed an infamous weapon of warfare. The whole tendency of modern civilization has been towards an amelioration of the laws of war. It is universally felt that the destruction of private property, in case of war, is a relic of barbarism, and that hostilities ought to be restricted to the public forces of the hostile powers. And although this principle has not yet secured recognition as part of the code of international law, the practice of nations has been towards its adoption. During the Crimean war, each nation prohibited its subjects from accepting letters of marque, and privateering was formally discarded by Great Britain as a weapon of war.

The United States have recognized the salutary character of this principle more than once in their legislation. An act of Congress still stands upon the

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE ANNUAL MEETING POSTPONED.

In view of the unparalleled excitement now existing throughout the country, arising from the treasonable attempt of the Southern Slave Oligarchy to overturn the General Government, and to erect an exclusively slave-holding despotism upon its ruins, to the overthrow of all free institutions, it is deemed by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society a measure of sound expediency to postpone the usual anniversary of the Society, in the city of New York, in May next, until further notice—a decision which they are confident will be most cordially ratified by the members and friends of the Society: especially in view of the cheering fact, that *there is at last a North* as well as a South, and that the present tremendous conflict is, in its tendencies, strongly and irresistibly toward the goal of universal emancipation, or else a final separation between the free and slaveholding States, in accordance with the principle of "NO UNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS." Let nothing be done, at this sublime crisis, needlessly to check or divert the mighty current of popular feeling which is now sweeping southward with the strength and impetuosity of a thousand Niagaras, in direct conflict with that haughty and perfidious Slave Power which has so long ruled the republic with a rod of iron for its own base and Satanic purposes.

The annual meeting of the Society stands adjourned until further notice.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, } *Secretaries.*
C. C. BURLEIGH, }

A NORTH AT LAST!

A GLORIOUS week of history since we last met our readers! The boom of the slave-drivers' cannon at Fort Sumter startled the North from its sleep. A nation of armed men sprung as it were out of the earth, in an instant, at the sound. At the call of the Head of the Nation, the Nation has risen as one man to rally around its long insulted and too often prostituted flag. The blood of Massachusetts men, shed on the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, has baptized it to its newest mission. It has been, and is, a sublime spectacle. There has been nothing like it since the beacon-fires on hill-top and spire flashed the coming of the Armada from one end of England to the other with the speed of light.

"From Eddystone to Berwick bounds, from Lynn to Milford Bay,
That time of slumber was as bright and busy as the day."

It has shown a degree of vitality in the Northern nation that is prophetic of a future brighter than the past.

We confess that we have been surprised at the phenomenon. We have seen the patient North submit so long and so quietly to all the indignities and assumptions of the South, that we had feared that the leprosy of compromise had eaten into its very bones, so that it had no strength left wherewith to stand upright. We have, indeed, always believed and said, that the masses of the North were far better than their leaders; but we had feared that the dominion of the leaders had been too well established to be ever broken off. At least, for many long years. Another generation might, we thought, grow into strength enough to rise in rebellion against the supremacy of the slave-masters. And lo! even this of ours thousands of freemen are pouring down from the hills and hastening up from the sea-coasts, eager to find themselves face to face with their natural enemies, and to encounter death, so they can put them under their feet. Many influences, long and silently working, have fed and nourished the Northern mind up to this degree of manly strength. We care not to consider what they have been, now. It will be time enough to examine into them when History comes to record this amazing passage in our national life. It is enough to know that the present healthful condition of the public mind of the North exists and is manifesting itself by its works. Even if the present flame be smothered, and the gloom of compromise again brood over the face of the land, we shall know that it exists and that it is as sure to break forth again as Etna and Vesuvius to burst into eruption.

The insensate folly of the Secessionists is, clearly enough, one of the prime moving causes of the present wholesome agitation of the Northern atmosphere. Never, surely, were men so left to delusions and snares as they have been. Their whole course has been such as to alienate from them the very class which had always stood by them and helped them to their continual successes. The whole rounded by Jefferson Davis running up the black flag with the death's-head and cross-bones, to bind all the commerce and all the capital in the country in an indissoluble league against him. The folly of this proceeding was so astonishing that it was several days before men could persuade themselves that it was not a hoax, played off upon them by some waggish dealer in news. Davis, evidently, utterly mistook the quality of Northern human nature. He thought that the specimens with which he was familiar—the Everetts and Appletons and Winthrops—were fair samples of the average of the North. And why should he not misunderstand the condition of the public feeling here, when we ourselves have had to confess to the same mistake? He plainly believed that the declarations of *The New York Herald* and *The Boston Courier*, and the pro-slavery sycophancy of the Northern public men he came most in contact with, really represented the feelings and purposes of the North.

Now that the North has drawn the sword, we most heartily hope that it will never sheathe it again until slavery has been abolished. It is the only way in which peace can be permanently restored to the country, and under the stringent despotism of war it can be done. At any rate, it must be urged home on all minds that no reconstruction of the Union shall be made, excepting upon the condition that no slavery shall be permitted to exist within its borders. Or, if the war should end, as it must if not in a reconstruction, in the recognition of the nationality of the Confederacy, that no slave State shall be permitted to form a part of the Northern Republic. If Maryland refuse to emancipate or unite with the North, she must be conquered, her slaves liberated by force, and she held as a dependent province. All the rest of the slave States we can well spare. Then we shall have such a Republic and such an Empire as the world has never yet seen, and one into which the seceding States, after slavery has been abolished by legislation or by insurrection, will sue to be received again. Still, we are not by any means sure that the reptile Compromise has yet been crushed under the armed heel of the North. It will rear its head again, and strive to sting the life out of the Nation yet again. Freedom's battle may not be won in this campaign, but the victory is only deferred, let its issue be what it may. We can only hope that the conflicting passions of the two sections will be so fed and stimulated by events beyond the power of any leaders, that no peace, no armistice even, can be negotiated excepting on the basis of the freedom of the negro for the whole country, if united, or for the North, if divided.

What is the duty of the Abolitionists in this new and untried conjuncture of events? We think that duty is, just at this moment, to stand by the government in its defence of itself against the slaveholders. We know very well the inexorable logic by which the government can be proved to be no better than it ever was, and that the army now gathering from the North is no more anti-slavery, in our sense of the word, than that mustering to encounter it from the South. We will not attempt to answer the logic. But facts are mightier than syllogisms. The Cabinet at Washington, and the forces it has summoned into the field, may or may not know that they are fighting the battles of Emancipation, but they are none the less doing it. This outburst of spirit and enthusiasm at the North may spring chiefly from indignation at the wrongs of the white man; but it will none the less finally right those of the black man. Criticism is our business, our philosophy, our sphere. We believe we have never been accused of holding it back. But, in a crisis like this, criticism may suspend its judgment for awhile and watch the sequence of events. When the government is fighting our battle for us, let us at least do nothing to hinder its operations. Though it be building better than it knows, we are not called upon to obstruct it, on that account. We deem it to be the work of all true Abolitionists, just now, to do all that in them lies to help swell the storm of Northern indignation against the South which is now beating against the outworks of slavery. Should it slacken, or turn its force backward on its own region, the time of criticism and censure will have come again. May it be a long time first!

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

LEWISTOWN, Pa., April 22, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti Slavery Standard.

I HAVE the happiness to be able to announce the source of the dire troubles through which our country is now passing. It is so simple as almost to touch the sublime. If it could only have been discovered a few weeks sooner, we might have been preserved from the horrors of civil war; perhaps even yet there is hope, if vigorous efforts be put forth immediately.

Yesterday afternoon there was a Union prayer meeting in this place, in which the three leading Churches, Old School Presbyterian, Lutheran and Methodist, participated. Participated vicariously, however; for the praying and auxiliary remarks were generously furnished by the clergymen. The prayers were quite full of more or less interesting information, highly valuable as a means of ensuring judicious action; there was an almost exaggerated confession of sins—personal sins, national sins, and especially of Christian sins. But the hortatory or enlightening remarks set forth the one grand sin which we are now expiating. "Slavery, of course." Ah, sir, you are either very green, or still afflicted with a very "carnal mind." Slavery, indeed! Why, the thing was not even hinted at, unless it was included in the blessings which were piteously begged for as possible only through the preservation of the Union. This is the hideous sin—*meagre contributions for the support of foreign missions.*

You may not see the whole philosophy of the struggle in this nutshell; it is not in nature to see it: I think it needs special vision; let me try to anoint your eyes.

It is the particular function of this nation to evangelize the world; not to be decent itself, but to convert the ends of the earth. So, our one important business is to rear, send out, and maintain missionaries whose heaven-appointed work it is to save the souls, without interfering with the popular "peculiar institutions," of men. We have not done this on a sufficiently large scale; we have wasted the talents entrusted to our stewardship on secular agencies, as Deaf and Dumb Asylums, Retreats for the Insane, books for convicts, Homes for the Fallen—all well enough in their way, but simply *moral*, not genuinely, catechetically *religious*. Therefore God has a controversy with us. To be sure, it *looks* as if the Confederate States were the controversialists, but they are only God's instruments for inflicting the terrible punishment which our shallow contribution boxes so justly entail upon us. The Southern Christians have been more self-denying and liberal supporters of missions than we, "as it were." Like this; there are well attested instances of astonishing self-sacrifice on their part. Pious masters have been known to lacerate their sensibilities by selling valuable slaves, and to transfer the price to the Missionary [illegible] this; it may give immensely more for the support of missions, but it cannot produce instances of such "poor-widow"-like self-denial. Therefore the North merits a thorough scourging from the South. This is the key that unlocks the perplexing mystery. Is it clear? I fear some of the "solid men" here are in a dangerous way; heretofore exceedingly conservative, they declare that slavery is the one root of mischief, and this war will most likely result in its complete eradication. Nor do they lament this probable issue, but speak of it with a composure that would do credit to an Old-Line Abolitionist. Sighs over sickly contributions for missions pass muster on Sunday in the Church; but on the street during the week there is a wholly different tone. Thoughtful men and women know that slavery's Armageddon has come.

S.

THE TABLES TURNED.—We have seen a private letter from Boston, stating that Southside Adams was lately told by some persons, who waited upon him for the purpose, that if he did not come out stiff and strong for Northern rights and freedom, his house would be burned down over his head! He preached a patriotic sermon on Sunday last. On the other hand, the same writer says: "The same mob that threatened the life of Wendell Phillips at the Music Hall in January and February stood last Sunday, packed around the same building, applauding whenever the echo of his voice reached them. They wanted to draw him home when the lecture was over, and he was obliged to retire through a back entrance to avoid their ovation. Is not this a turning of the tables?"

THE TARIFF.—The letter from HORACE GREELEY, the editor of *The Tribune*, in reply to Mrs. Martineau's observations, in her latest letter, upon the new American Tariff, will command the attention of our readers. Mr. Greeley is probably the ablest champion in all the country of what is called the Protective policy, and our readers, having considered the opposing views of Mrs. Martineau, will be glad to read what he has to offer on the other side. The question, of course, is one upon which Abolitionists differ widely in opinion, and as it sustains only a remote and incidental relation to the slavery question, we do not propose to occupy our columns with an extended discussion of it.

SHERMAN M. BOOTH asks the Wisconsin Legislature for $20,000, as an equivalent for the damages he received in his trial and imprisonment, resulting from the Glover rescue case. We hope he may get at least a part of this sum.

THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, we understand, will not be held this year; and we presume, though we are not authorized to speak for those who alone have power to decide the question, that the National Woman's Rights Convention will also be postponed. It is not unlikely that the Progressive Friends of Pennsylvania will also forego their Yearly Meeting. We learn that many of the young men in the vicinity of Longwood have enlisted for the war.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON THE WAR.

ON Sunday last, April 21st, not less than four thousand people were crowded within the walls of the spacious Music Hall, in Boston, to listen to a Discourse on the War, by WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., before the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society; and almost an equal number were excluded, because of the impossibility of finding even an inch of standing room. The platform was most profusely yet tastefully decorated with the "stars and stripes," for the first time seeming to symbolize the cause of impartial freedom, under the extraordinary circumstances of the times. Other parts of the hall were also handsomely adorned. Credit for these decorations, which spoke to the audience better than words could, is due to CHARLES FOLLEN, by whose kind and generous thoughtfulness and exquisite taste they were provided and arranged. The desire to hear Mr. Phillips was of the gravest and intensest character. On entering the hall, he was greeted with hearty, irrepressible rounds of applause, which were frequently repeated during the delivery of his thrilling remarks. The following selection of Scripture, from the 50th and 51st chapters of Jeremiah, was first read by him, and produced a marked sensation, in consequence of its extraordinary applicability to the state of the times in our land. It was loudly cheered at its conclusion.

"The word that the Lord spake against Babylon, and against the land of the Chaldeans, by Jeremiah the prophet. Lo, I will raise, and cause to come up against Babylon, an assembly of great nations from the north country; and they shall set themselves in array against her; from thence she shall be taken: their arrows shall be as of a mighty expert man; none shall return in vain. And Chaldea shall be a spoil: all that spoil her shall be satisfied, saith the Lord. Put yourselves in array against Babylon round about; all ye that bend the bow, shoot at her, spare no arrows; for she hath sinned against the Lord. Shout against her round about; her foundations are fallen, her walls are thrown down; for it is the vengeance of the Lord: take vengeance upon her: as she hath done, do unto her.

"A sound of battle is in the land, and of great destruction. The Lord hath opened his armory, and hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation: for this is the work of the Lord God of hosts in the land of the Chaldeans. Woe unto them! for their day is come, the time of their visitation.

"Behold, I am against thee, O thou most proud, saith the Lord God of hosts: for thy day is come, the time that I will visit thee. And the most proud shall stumble and fall, and none shall raise him up: and I will kindle a fire in his cities, and it shall devour all round about him.

"Thus saith the Lord of hosts, The children of Israel and the children of Judah were oppressed together: and all that took them captives held them fast, and refused to let them go. Their Redeemer is strong; the Lord of hosts is his name; he shall thoroughly plead their cause, that he may give rest to the land, and disquiet the inhabitants of Babylon.

"A sword is upon the Chaldeans, saith the Lord, and upon the inhabitants of Babylon, and upon her princes, and upon her wise men. A sword is upon the liars, and they shall dote; a sword is upon her mighty men, and they shall be dismayed; a sword is upon their horses, and upon their chariots, and upon all the mingled people that are in the midst of her; and they shall become as women; for it is the land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols. Thus the slain shall fall in the land of the Chaldeans, and they that are thrust through in her streets. For Israel hath not been forsaken, nor Judah of his God; though their land was filled with sin against the Holy One of Israel. Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul; be not cut off in her iniquity; for this is the time of the Lord's vengeance; he will render unto her a recompense. We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country, for her judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even to the skies.

"One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end, and that the passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burned with fire, and the men of war are affrighted. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor; it is time to thresh her. The violence done to me and to my flesh be upon Babylon, shall the inhabitant of Zion say: and, my blood upon the inhabitants of Chaldea, shall Jerusalem say. Then the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, shall sing for Babylon: for the spoilers shall come unto her from the north, saith the Lord."

DISCOURSE OF MR. PHILLIPS.

Phonographic report for The Liberator by J. M. W. YERRINTON.

"Therefore thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine."—Jeremiah xxxiv. 17.

Many times this winter, here and elsewhere, I have counselled peace—urged, as well as I knew how, the expediency of acknowledging a Southern Confederacy, and the peaceful separation of these thirty-four States. One of the journals announces to you that I come here this morning to retract those opinions. No, not one of them! (Applause.) I need them all—every word I have spoken this winter—every act of twenty-five years of my life, to make the welcome I give this war hearty and hot. Civil war is a momentous evil. It needs the soundest, most solemn justification. I rejoice before God to-day for every word that I have spoken counselling peace; and I rejoice with an especially profound gratitude that, for the first time in my anti-slavery life, I speak under the stars and stripes, and welcome the tread of Massachusetts men marshalled for war (enthusiastic cheering). No matter what the past has been or said; to-day the slave asks God for a sight of this banner, and counts it the pledge of his redemption (applause). Hitherto, it may have meant what you thought, or what I did; to-day, it represents Sovereignty and Justice (renewed applause). The only mistake that I have made was in supposing Massachusetts wholly choked with cotton dust and cankered with gold (loud cheering). The South thought her patience and generous willingness for peace were cowardice; to-day shows the mistake. She has been sleeping on her arms since '76, and the first cannon-shot brings her to her feet with the war-cry of the Revolution on her lips (loud cheers). Any man who loves either liberty or manhood must rejoice at such an hour (applause).

Let me tell you the path by which I, at least, have trod my way up to this conclusion. I do not acknowledge the motto, in its full significance, "Our country, right or wrong." If you let it trespass on the domain of morals, it is knavish and atheistic. But there is a full, broad sphere for loyalty; and no war-cry ever stirred a generous people that had not in it much of truth and right. It is sublime, this rally of a great people to the defence of what they think their national honor! A "noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man from sleep, and shaking her invincible locks." Just now, we saw her "reposing, peaceful and motionless; but at the call of patriotism, she ruffles, as it were, her swelling plumage, collects her scattered elements of strength, and awakens her dormant thunders."

But how do we justify this last appeal to the God of Battles? Let me tell you how I do. I have always believed in the sincerity of Abraham Lincoln. You have heard me express my confidence in it every time I have spoken from this desk. I only doubted some times whether he were really the head of the government. To-day he is, at any rate, Commander-in-chief.

The delay in the action of government has doubtless been necessity, but policy also. Traitors witain and without made it hesitate to move till it had tried the machine of government just given it. But delay was wise, as it matured a public opinion, definite, decisive, and ready to keep step to the music of the government march. The very postponement of another session of Congress till July 4th plainly invites discussion—evidently contemplates the ripening of public opinion in the interval. Fairly to examine public affairs, and prepare a community wise to cooperate with the government, is the duty of every pulpit and every press.

Plain words, therefore, now, before the nation goes mad with excitement, are every man's duty. Every public meeting in Athens was opened with a curse on any one who should not speak what he really thought. "I have never defiled my conscience from fear or favor to my superiors," was part of the oath every Egyptian soul was supposed to utter in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, before admission to heaven. Let us show, to-day, a Christian spirit as sincere and fearless. No mobs in this hour of victory, to silence those whom events have not converted. We are strong enough to tolerate dissent. That flag which floats over press or mansion at the bidding of a mob, disgraces both victor and victim.

All winter long, I have acted with that party which cried for peace. The anti-slavery enterprise, to which I belong, started with peace written on its banner. We imagined that the age of bullets was over; that the age of ideas had come; that thirty millions of people were able to take a great question, and decide it by the conflict of opinions; and, without letting the ship of State founder, lift four millions of men into liberty and justice. We thought that, if your statesmen would throw away personal ambition and party watchwords, and devote themselves to the great issue, this might be accomplished. To a certain extent, it has been. The North has answered to the call. Year after year, event by event, has indicated the rising education of the people—the readiness for a higher moral life—the patience that waits for a neighbor's conversion. The North has responded to the call of that peaceful, moral, intellectual agitation which the anti-slavery idea has initiated. Our mistake, if any, has been that we counted too much on the intelligence of the masses, on the honesty and wisdom of statesmen as a class. Perhaps we did not give weight enough to the fact we saw, that this nation is made up of different ages; not homogeneous, but a mixed mass of different centuries. The North *thinks*—can appreciate argument—is the nineteenth century—hardly any struggle left in it but that between the working class and the money kings. The South *dreams*—it is the thirteenth and fourteenth century—baron and serf—noble and slave. Jack Cade and Wat Tyler loom over the horizon, and the serf, rising, calls for another Thierry to record his struggle. There the fagot still burns, which the Doctors of the Sorbonne called, ages ago, "the best light to guide the erring." There men are tortured for opinions, the only punishment the Jesuits were willing their pupils should look on. This is, perhaps, too flattering a picture of the South. Better call her, as Sumner does, "the barbarous States." Our struggle, therefore, is no struggle between different ideas, but between barbarism and civilization. Such can only be settled by arms (prolonged cheering). The government has waited until its best friends almost suspected its courage or its integrity; but the cannon shot against Fort Sumter has opened the only door out of this hour. There were but too. One was compromise; the other was battle. The integrity of the North closed the first; the generous forbearance of nineteen States closed the other. The South opened this with cannon shot, and Lincoln shows himself at the door (prolonged and enthusiastic cheering). The war, then, is not aggressive, but in self-defence, and Washington has become the Thermopylæ of liberty and justice (applause). Rather than surrender it, cover every square foot of it with a living body (loud cheers); crowd it with a million of men, and empty every bank vault at the North to pay the cost (renewed cheering). Teach the world, once for all, that North America belongs to the stars and stripes, and under them no man shall wear a chain (enthusiastic cheering). In the whole of this conflict, I have looked only at liberty—only at the slave. Perry entered the battle of the Lakes with "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP" floating from the mast-head of the Lawrence. When, with his fighting flag, he left her crippled, heading north, and, mounting the deck of the Niagara, turned her bows due west, he did all for one purpose—to rake the decks of the foe. Acknowledge secession, or cannonade it, I care not which; but "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" (loud cheers).

I said, civil war needs momentous and solemn justification. Europe, the world, may claim of us, that before we blot the nineteenth century by an appeal to arms, we shall exhaust every concession, try every means to keep the peace; otherwise, an appeal to the God of battles is an insult to the civilization of our age; it is a confession that our culture and our religion are superficial, if not a failure. I think that the history of the nation and of the government both, is an ample justification to our own times and to history for this appeal to arms. I think the South is all wrong, and the Administration is all right (prolonged cheering). Let me tell you why. For thirty years, the North has exhausted conciliation and compromise. They have tried every expedient, they have relinquished every right, they have sacrificed every interest, they have smothered keen sensibility to national honor, and Northern weight and supremacy in the Union; have forgotten they were the majority in numbers and in wealth, in education and strength; have left the helm of government and the dictation of policy to the Southern States. For all this, the conflict waxed closer and hotter. The Administration that preceded this was full of traitors and thieves. It allowed the arms, ships, money, military stores of the North to be stolen with impunity. Mr. Lincoln took office, robbed of all the means to defend the constitutional rights of the government. He offered to withdraw from the walls of Sumter everything but the flag. He allowed secession to surround it with the strongest forts which military science could build. The North offered to meet in Convention her sister States, and arrange the terms of peaceful separation. Strength and right yielded everything—they folded their hands—waited the returning reason of the mad insurgents. Week after week elapsed, month after month went by, waiting for the sober second thought of two millions and a half of people. The world saw the sublime sight of nineteen millions of wealthy, powerful, united citizens allowing their flag to be insulted, their rights assailed, their sovereignty defied and broken in pieces, and yet waiting, with patient, brotherly, magnanimous kindness, until insurrection, having spent its fury, should reach out its hand for a peaceful arrangement. Men began to call it cowardice, on the one hand; and we, who watched closely the crisis, feared that this effort to be magnanimous would demoralize the conscience and the courage of the North. We were afraid that, as the hour went by, the virtue of the people, white-heat as it stood on the 4th day of March, would be cooled by the temptations, by the suspense, by the want and suffering that were stalking from the Atlantic to the valley of the Mississippi. We were afraid the government would wait too long, and find, at last, that instead of a united people, they were deserted, and left alone to meet the foe.

All this time, the South knew, recognized, by her own knowledge of constitutional questions, that the government could not advance one inch towards acknowledging secession; that when Abraham Lincoln swore to support the Constitution and laws of the United States, he was bound to die under the flag on Fort Sumter, if necessary (loud applause). They knew, therefore, that the call on the Administration to acknowledge the Commissioners of the Confederacy was a delusion and a swindle. I know the whole argument for secession. Up to a certain extent, I accede to it. But no Administration that is not traitor, can ever acknowledge secession (cheers). The right of a State to secede, under the Constitution of the United States—it is an absurdity; and Abraham Lincoln knows nothing, has a right to know nothing, but the Constitution of the United States (loud cheers). The right of a State to secede, as a revolutionary right, is undeniable; but it is the nation that is to recognize that; and the nation offered, in broad convention, at the suggestion of Kentucky, to meet the question. The offer was declined. The government and the nation, therefore, are all right (applause). They are right on constitutional law; they are right on the principles of the Declaration of Independence (cheers).

Let me explain this more fully, for this reason; because—and I thank God for it, every American should be proud of it—you cannot maintain a war in the United States of America against a constitutional or a revolutionary right. The people of these States have too large brains and too many ideas to fight blindly—to lock horns like a couple of beasts in the sight of the world (applause). Cannon think in this nineteenth century; and you must put the North in the right—wholly, undeniably, inside of the Constitution or out of it—before you can justify her in the face of the world; before you can pour Massachusetts like an avalanche through the streets of Baltimore (great cheering), and carry Lexington and the 19th of April south of Mason and Dixon's line (renewed cheering). Let us take an honest pride in the fact that our Sixth Regiment made a way for itself through Baltimore, and were the first to reach the threatened Capital. In the war of opinions, Massachusetts has a right to be the first in the field.

I said I knew the whole argument for secession. Very briefly let me state the points. No government provides for its own death; therefore there can be no constitutional right to secede. But there is a revolutionary right. The Declaration of Independence establishes what the heart of every American acknowledges, that the people—mark you! THE PEOPLE!—have always an inherent, paramount, inalienable right to change their governments, whenever they think—whenever *they* think—that it will minister to their happiness. That is a revolutionary right. Now, how did South Carolina and Massachusetts come into the Union? They came into it by a convention representing the people. South Carolina alleges that she has gone out by convention. So far, right. She says that when the *people* take the State rightfully out of the Union, the right to forts and all national property goes with it. Granted. She says, also, that it is no matter that we bought Louisiana of France and Florida of Spain. No bargain made, no money paid betwixt us and France or Spain could rob Florida or Louisiana of her right to remodel her government whenever the people found it would be for their happiness. So far, right. THE PEOPLE—mark you! South Carolina presents herself to the Administration at Washington, and says, "There is a vote of my convention, that I go out of the Union." "I cannot see you," says Abraham Lincoln (loud cheers). "As President, I have no eyes but constitutional eyes; I cannot see you" (renewed cheers). He was right. But Madison said, Hamilton said, the Fathers said, in '89, "No man but an enemy of liberty will ever stand on technicalities and forms, when the essence is in question." Abraham Lincoln could not see the Commissioners of South Carolina, but the North could; the nation could; and the nation responded, "If you want a Constitutional Secession, such as you claim, but which I repudiate, I will waive forms—let us meet in convention, and we will arrange it" (applause). Surely, while one claims a right within the Constitution, it may without dishonor or inconsistency meet in convention, even if finally refusing to be bound by it. To decline doing so is only evidence of intention to provoke war. Everything under that instrument is peace. Everything under that instrument may be changed by a National Convention. The South says, "No!" She says, "If you don't allow me the Constitutional right, I claim the revolutionary right." The North responds—"When you have torn the Constitution into fragments, I recognize the right of THE PEOPLE of South Carolina to model their government. Yes, I recognize the right of the three hundred and eighty-four thousand white men, and four hundred and eighty-four thousand black men, to model their Constitution. Show me one that they have adopted, and I will recognize the revolution (cheers). But the moment you tread outside of the Constitution, the black man is not three-fifths of a man—he is a whole one" (loud cheering). Yes, the South has a right to secede; the South has a right to model her government; and the moment she shows us four million of black votes thrown even against it, I will acknowledge the Declaration of Independence is complied with (loud applause)—that THE PEOPLE, south of Mason and Dixon's line, have remodelled their government to suit themselves: and our function is only to recognize it.

I say, the North had a right to assume this position. She did not. She had a right to ignore revolution until this condition was complied with; and she did not. She waived it. In obedience to the advice of Madison, to the long history of her country's forbearance, to the magnanimity of nineteen States, she waited: she advised the government to wait. Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural, indicated that this would be the wise course. Mr. Seward hinted it in his speech, in New York. *The London Times* bade us remember the useless war of 1776, and take warning against resisting the principles of Popular Sovereignty. *The Tribune*, whose unflinching fidelity and matchless ability make it, in this fight, "the white plume of Navarre," has again and again avowed its readiness to waive forms and go into Convention. We have waited. We said, "Anything for peace." We obeyed the magnanimous statesmanship of John Quincy Adams. Let me read you his advice, given at the "Jubilee of the Constitution," to the New York Historical Society, in the year 1839: he says, Recognizing this right of *the people* of a State—mark you, not a State: the Constitution knows no States; the right of revolution knows no States: it knows only THE PEOPLE. Mr. Adams says, "THE PEOPLE of each State in the Union have a right to secede from the confederated Union itself.

"Thus stands the RIGHT. But the indissoluble link of union between the people of the several States of this Confederated nation is, after all, not in the *right*, but in the *heart*.

"'If the day should ever come (may Heaven avert it!) when the affections of the people of these States shall be alienated from each other, when the fraternal spirit shall give way to cold indifference, or collisions of interest shall fester into hatred, the bands of political association will not long hold together parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of conciliated interests and kindly sympathies; and far better will it be for the people of the disunited States to part in friendship from each other, than to be held together by constraint. Then will be the time for reverting to the precedents which occurred at the formation and adoption of the Constitution, to form again a more perfect union, by dissolving that which could no longer bind; and to leave the separated parts to be reunited by the law of political gravitation to the centre."

The North said "Amen" to every word of it. They waited. They begged the States to meet them. They were silent when the cannon-shot pierced the flag of the Star of the West. They said "Amen" when the government offered to let nothing but the bunting cover Fort Sumter. They said "Amen" when Lincoln stood alone, without arms, in a defenceless Capital, and trusted himself to the loyalty and forbearance of thirty-four States.

The South, if the truth be told, *cannot* wait. Like all usurpers, they dare not give time for the people to criticize their title to power. War and tumult must conceal the irregularity of their civil course, and smother discontent and criticism at the same time. Besides, bankruptcy at home can live out its short term of possible existence only by conquest on land and piracy at sea. And, further, only by war, by appeal to popular frenzy, can they hope to delude the border States to join them. War is the breath of their life.

To-day, therefore, the question is, by the voice of the South, "Shall Washington or Montgomery own the continent?" And the North says, "From the gulf to the pole, the Stars and Stripes shall atone to four million of negroes whom we have forgotten for seventy years; and, before you break the Union, we will see that justice is done to the slave (enthusiastic and long continued cheers).

There is only one thing that those cannon shot in the harbor of Charleston settled, and that is, that there never can be a compromise! (Loud applause.) We Abolitionists have doubted whether this Union really meant justice and liberty. We have doubted the honest intention of nineteen million of people. They have said, in answer to our criticism—"We believe that the fathers meant to establish justice. We believe that there are hidden in the armory of the Constitution weapons strong enough to secure it. We are willing yet to try the experiment. Grant us time." We have doubted, derided the pretence, as we supposed. During these long and weary weeks, we have waited to hear the Northern conscience assert its purpose. It comes at last (an impressive pause.) Massachusetts blood has consecrated the pavements of Baltimore, and those stones are now too sacred to be trodden by slaves (loud cheers).

You and I owe it to those young martyrs, you and I owe it, that their blood shall be the seed of no mere empty triumph, but that the negro shall teach his children to bless them for centuries to come (applause). When Massachusetts goes down to that Carolina fort to put the Stars and Stripes again over its blackened wall (enthusiasm), she will sweep from its neighborhood every institution that hazards their ever bowing again to the Palmetto (loud cheers). All of you may not mean it now. Our fathers did not think in 1775 of the Declaration of Independence. The Long Parliament never thought of the scaffold of Charles the First, when they entered on the struggle; but having begun, they made thorough work (cheers). It is an attribute of the Yankee blood—slow to fight, and fight once (renewed cheers). It was a holy war, that for Independence; this is a holier and the last—that for LIBERTY (loud applause).

I hear a great deal about constitutional liberty. The mouths of the Concord and Lexington guns have room only for one word, and that is LIBERTY. You might as well ask Niagara to chant the Chicago Platform, as to say how far war shall go. War and Niagara thunder to a music of their own. God alone can launch the lightnings, that they may go and say, here we are. The thunderbolts of his throne abase the proud, lift up the lowly, and execute justice between man and man.

Now, let me turn one moment to another consideration. What should the government do? I said "thorough" should be its maxim. When we fight, we are fighting for justice and an idea. A short war and a rigid one, is the maxim. Ten thousand men in Washington! it is only a bloody fight. Five hundred thousand men in Washington, and none dare come there but from the North (loud cheers). Occupy St. Louis with the millions of the West, and say to Missouri, "You cannot go out!" (Applause.) Cover Maryland with a million of the friends of the Administration, and say, "We must have our Capital within reach (cheers). If you need compensation for slaves taken from you in the convulsion of battle, here it is" (cheers). Government is engaged in the fearful struggle to show that '89 meant justice, and there is something better than life in such an hour as this. And, again, we must remember another thing—the complication of such a struggle as this. Bear with me a moment. We put five hundred thousand men on the banks of the Potomac. Virginia is held by two races, white and black. Suppose those black men flare in our faces the Declaration of Independence. What are we to say? Are we to send Northern bayonets to keep slaves under the feet of Jeff. Davis? (Many voices, "No," "Never.") In 1842, Governor Wise, of Virginia, the symbol of the South, entered into argument with Quincy Adams, who carried Plymouth Rock to Washington (applause). It was when Joshua Giddings offered his resolution stating his Constitutional doctrine that Congress had no right to interfere, in any event, in any way, with the slavery of the Southern States. Plymouth Rock refused to vote for it. Mr. Adams said (substantially), "If foreign war comes, if civil war comes, if insurrection comes, is this beleaguered Capital, is this besieged government, to see millions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the fetters which they are forging into swords?" No; the war power of the government can sweep this institution "into the Gulf" (cheers). Ever since 1842, that statesmanlike claim and warning of the North has been on record, spoken by the lips of her most moderate, wisest, coolest, most patriotic son (applause).

When the South cannonaded Fort Sumter, the bones of Adams stirred in his coffin (cheers). And you might have heard him, from that granite grave, at Quincy, proclaim to the nation, "The hour has struck! Seize the thunderbolt God has forged for you, and annihilate the system which has troubled your peace for seventy years!" (Cheers). Do not say that it is a cold-blooded suggestion. I hardly ever knew slavery go down in any other circumstances. Only once, in the broad sweep of the world's history, was any nation lifted so high that she could stretch her imperial hand across the Atlantic, and lift, by one peaceful word, a million of slaves into liberty. God granted that glory only to our mother land.

How did French slavery go down? How did the French slave trade go down? When Napoleon came back from Elba, when his fate hung trembling in the balance, and he wished to gather around him the sympathies of the liberals of Europe, he no sooner set foot in the Tuileries than he signed the edict abolishing the slave trade, against which the Abolitionists of England and France had protested for twenty years in vain. And the trade went down, because Napoleon felt that he must do something to gild the darkening hour of his second attempt to clutch the sceptre of France. How did the slave system go down? When, in 1848, the Provisional government found itself in the Hotel de Ville, obliged to do something to draw to itself the sympathy and liberal feeling of the French nation, they signed an edict—it was the first from the rising republic—abolishing the death penalty and slavery. The storm, which rocked the vessel of state almost to foundering, snapped forever the chain of the French slave. Look, too, at the history of Mexican and South American emancipation; you will find that it was, in every instance, I think, the child of convulsion.

That hour has come to us. So stand we to-day. The Abolitionist who will not now cry, when the moment serves, "Up, boys, and at them," is false to liberty (great cheering). (A VOICE—"So is every other man.") Say not it is a hard lesson. Let him who fully knows his own heart and strength, and feels, as he looks down into his child's cradle, that he could stand and see that little nestling borne to slavery, and submit—let him cast the first stone. But all you, whose blood is wont to stir over Naseby and Bunker Hill, will hold your peace, unless you are ready to cry with me—*Sic semper Tyrannis!* So may it ever be with tyrants! (Loud applause.)

Why, Americans, I believe in the might of nineteen million of people. Yes, I know that what sowing machines and reaping machines and ideas and types and school houses cannot do, the muskets of Illinois and Massachusetts can finish up (cheers). Blame me not that I make everything turn on liberty and the slave. I believe in Massachusetts. I know that free speech, free toil, school houses, and ballot boxes are a pyramid on its broadest base. Nothing that does not sunder the solid globe can disturb it. We defy the world to disturb us (cheers). The little errors that dwell upon our surface, we have medicine in our institutions to cure them all (applause).

Therefore there is nothing left for a New England man, nothing but that he shall wipe away the stain that hangs about the toleration of human bondage. As Webster said at Rochester, years and years ago, "If I thought that there was a stain upon the remotest hem of the garment of my country, I would devote my utmost labor to wipe it off" (cheers). To-day that call is made upon Massachusetts. That is the reason why I dwell so much on the slavery question. I said I believed in the power of the North to conquer; but where does she get it? I do not believe in the power of the North to subdue two million and a half of Southern men, unless she summons justice, God, and the negro to her side (cheers); and in that battle we are sure of this—we are sure to rebuild the Union down to the Gulf (renewed cheering). In that battle, with that watchword, with those allies, the thirteen States and their children will survive, in the light of the world, a nation which has vindicated the sincerity of the Fathers of '87, that they bore children, and not peddlers, to represent them in the nineteenth century (repeated cheers). But without that—without that, I know also, we shall conquer. Sumter annihilated compromise. Nothing but victory will blot from history that s

ABOLITIONISTS AND THE WAR.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

In your leading article last week on the national affairs, or rather in a note at its close, after declaring as your opinion that a bloody war is now inevitable, you add: "The North is now fully aroused, and we hope she will not stay her hand while a single slave treads the American soil." (I quote from memory.)

I was sorry to see the expression in the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

In the Declaration of Sentiments adopted by said Society at its formation, I read—"*Their* principles (referring to our Revolutionary fathers) led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. *Ours* forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons"; and again, "*Ours* shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption, and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance."

Surely the sentiments of 1833 and 1861 do not agree.

Can it be that the war spirit of the hour is to lead us, as a Society, to sanction the doing of evil, even though the object were openly avowed to be the glorious one of freeing every slave? God grant it may not so be.

Yours, for the liberation of the slave by the spirit of the gospel, THEO. T. OVINGTON.

Brooklyn, April 22.

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

Our correspondent is right in assuming that the American Anti-Slavery Society is pledged to oppose slavery only by peaceful means. It has been true to that pledge hitherto, and will doubtless continue so to the end. It has pleaded with the nation, for more than a quarter of a century, to break the chains of the slave

> "With the mild arms of truth and love,
> Made mighty through the living God";

but it has warned it, at the same time, that if it should refuse to do the work in that way, the system must inevitably go down in blood. That warning seems about to be fulfilled. The people of the North, accepting not the doctrine of Christian non-resistance, but believing it right to resist unto blood in the cause of justice and freedom, are now face to face in a death-grapple with the slave oligarchy; and the writer of this, a non-resistant as he has been for more than twenty years and is still, hopes that the war will end only with the freedom of the slaves. Slavery is itself a state of war, the bondmen being kept in subjection only by the constant menace of despotic violence. In that war the North has hitherto basely taken the part of the master against the slave. The issue is now changed, and she is in deadly conflict with the master. Is it wrong for us to hope that out of this war, into which the land has been retributively plunged for having scorned the message of the Abolitionists, may come freedom to the wretched slaves? We cannot think so. If the North could indeed be lifted up to the high ground of Christian non-resistance, the freedom of the slaves might be secured without the shedding of blood; but war, bad as it is, is innocence itself compared with the sort of peace which, in this case, is its only alternative.

THE LATE TRAGEDY AT CLEVELAND.—VII.

AFTER hypocrisy, absurdity, and cruelty at Cleveland had, with bloodhound eagerness and ferocity, made our poor, desolate sister their prey, two or three things occurred which seem to demand a passing notice. In the first place, it is remarkable that the Virginian woman-thief was formally introduced to the multitude then present. "DUTY," he alleged, had brought him to Cleveland. He had visited the city on a divine mission, as a messenger of all-benignant Heaven! He, of course, bore a commission, fresh from the hand of the eternal Lord! Lucy's Father sent him into her terror-stricken presence. HE, the soul and source of all authority, the fountain-head of all duty, commanded her to return to the licensed brothel, to the national murder shop, whence she had fled away! This our woman-thief urged on the base and cowardly mercenaries around him, as the representative of "the great State of Virginia," famous in the annals of nations for its enterprise in breeding and fattening lads and lasses for the shambles!—the notorious mother of Presidents and other abominations! This "great State" our woman-thief "represented" in this mission of "duty" to the patriotic and pious citizens of Cleveland, of all sects and parties; to the Democrats, who had so honorably retired from the lofty summits of authority, and especially to the Republicans, who had just then so super-honorably ascended to the lofty summits of authority. The woman-thief greeted this motley concourse of patriots, so big-hearted and big-brained as eagerly to lay poor Lucy as a devoted VICTIM on the altar of a scarecrow Union; the woman-thief FRATERNALLY greeted his Cleveland fellows, all so gratefully, "expressing the many obligations he felt under for the manner in which he had been there received." How touchingly pathetic!—how pathetically touching! What a flow-over and overflow of luscious feeling did not this address produce all around and all about, cementing the Ohioan and the Virginian hearts together so intimately and tenderly! Why, one cannot advert to such a scene without recalling the impressive words of the poet—

> "Devil with devil damned firm concord hold."

How can one help sympathizing, moreover, in the generous regret of our refined and courteous woman-thief, that "one more worthy than himself" had not assumed the "dutiful" office of Lucy-hunting? I dare say that "great State of Virginia," especially somewhere along the sea coast, might produce a ravisher and robber of higher pretensions and larger experience. Due attention to this pregnant hint may at some future day bring into sympathy and coöperation with Cleveland a less modest minister plenipotentiary in the grand design of renditioning some innocent, helpless woman, at the very *constitutional* demand of the "great State of Virginia." I may advert, in another paper, to some other points in the fourth of July oration of our woman-thief.

Another State, "great" on this if on no other occasion, had also its representative. Mr. William Slade, once of Vermont, opened his patriotic lips. "He offered resolutions to the effect that the Fugitive Slave law, while it remained a law, should not be prevented from being enforced in our midst." And so the creature did not know—did he?—that there cannot be found in the universe legislative power enough to raise any such edict to the force and dignity of law. It is most obviously and certainly, in aim, object, method, in conception, construction, execution, in spirit and in letter, from beginning to conclusion, a tissue of unmingled, unmitigated wickedness—wickedness aggravated, intensified, rampant—in which absurdity and cruelty mutually qualify and set off each other; an edict which might fitly be offered as a comprehensive summary of all things idiotic, mean, and cruel, which may lie within the sphere of the possible in tyranny. While "it *remained* a law"! It never was a law! It could never be a law! What the renegade Vermonter obtruded on his neighbors was exactly equivalent to the proposal—*was* the proposal, a little disguised—*to serve the devil as "the god of this world," so long as he held the eternal throne.* Till he reaches that sublime eminence, the Fugitive Slave bill will remain infinitely OTHER than a law—the scorn and abhorrence of legislation. And William Slade and his Cleveland fellow-resolvers must seek protection from the penal inflictions which their folly and cruelty demand and involve, beneath the shield of the dark usurper whom they worship, and whose image they bear. The boldest, stoutest fiend in perdition could proceed no farther in rebellion against High Heaven than he must be carried by obedience to this devilish edict.

Poor Lucy's advocate was not ready to subscribe to *time*. But why speak of Judas? In "his place," it may Mr. William Slade's resolutions. He dissented. He had "sentiments" of his own, which he was not prepared to "surrender" at the "bidding" of anybody. He was now all for business. The presence of his outraged, betrayed client afforded him a very doubtful pleasure. There she lay, quivering on the altar of the presiding demon of the nation; there she lay, fast bound, the knife buried in her flesh; a sad and disgusting spectacle, appealing with dumb eloquence to the compassion of Heaven and earth—a spectacle which, in despite of state necessities, stern as death and cruel as the grave, might, if obtruded on the public eye too long, occasion a rescue; and Judge Spaulding began to grow impatient for the catastrophe. He was ready with his "motion"—a motion which even Judas Iscariot would, I think, sooner hang himself ten times over than offer* a *second*

* "What will ye give me, and I will betray him to you?"

be presumed, better manners prevail than poor Lucy witnessed at Cleveland. He, her advocate, "made a motion that the Marshal proceed to Wheeling with his charge, and that he be accompanied by the smallest necessary force, and THAT THE PEOPLE SEE THAT HE IS UNMOLESTED"! "Marshal Johnson immediately started for Wheeling with his victim." "Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel." "Then gathered the chief priests and Pharisees a council, and said, What do we? And one of them, Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." "Then from that day forth they took counsel together to put him to death." "Then the band and the captain and officers of the Jews took Jesus and bound him, and led him away to Annas." "And the Jews cried out, Away with him, away with him, crucify him." "And they took Jesus, and led him away"—not *to Wheeling*, that would have been too bad even for the malice of the Jews—that place was reserved for a people more deeply steeped in cruelty; they "led him to Golgotha, where they"—made *a chattel of him?* No, no; to that refinement and excess of wickedness they had not descended. "They" *only* "crucified him." It was well for the Nazarene that his persecutors, unlike Lucy's, had not heard of the American slave code!

BERIAH GREEN.

Our Boston Correspondence.

FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

THE SUMMARY.—Byron and Boston—A martial millennium—Precedents for Presidents—The commanders of the force—The right of petition, and its duty—Revenges of time—The tone of the best opinions—Woman's present mission—A poet among the trumpets—The hope of the saints militant.

BOSTON, April 22, 1861.

WE all mean war! Who could have looked for such united sentiment three weeks ago? Byron, waking one morning to find himself famous, could hardly have had greater cause for astonishment than Boston upon its late waking to find itself unanimous. The lion of Democracy has lain down with the lamb of Free Soilism, and a little negro is leading them. Milk street and the Music Hall are marching side by side; the prophet's wealth of ideas, and the merchant's mite (or *might*, if you will) of dollars, are cast into a common treasury. The universal feeling is that the Administration has done well. Could it have done better? The question may here and there be breathed inaudibly, but it is not uttered in street or market. We hate suspense, and rejoice in an appeal to authority which makes itself decisive. At first, some of us may have thought of that wise reluctance of old John Adams to declare war against the insolent French Directory, at a time when Marshall, Pinckney, and Gerry, the most dignified embassy we ever sent abroad, were treated with contempt, and while American commerce was sustaining actual injury from Gallic privateers. It is said that even Washington wondered at the persistent refusal of the second President to consider the conduct of the bankrupt and bloody Directory as that of France. We might once have dwelt on this instance of glorious forbearance, and have wrested it to a semblance of counsel and precedent. But to-day the war policy makes for itself the claim that trumpets the most irregular manœuvre of Jackson or Napoléon—the claim of unequivocal, brilliant success. Be it owing to masterly genius or incomparable luck, the Administration has bound us together as a unit. The stars and stripes, floating from every hamlet in New England, bear the best meaning they ever bore to our fathers. The dear old eagle has done moulting with unsightly buzzards in the menagerie of slavery; but, with fresh outfit of beak, claws, and feathers, fulfils the Psalmist's comparison in renewed youth.

The times are very hopeful; but as great events are to be crowded into a few months, so the labor of every friend of liberty must be concentrated likewise. The entire North must be made to see the true question of the war, and where lies the only hope of peace and renewed prosperity. Our soldiers are fighting in a nobler cause than most of them would acknowledge. Let them, and the households they represent, be made to understand that Slavery and Anti-Slavery are the commanders of the forces, and that it is only by unqualified acknowledgment of one or the other that we can be saved from chaos and destruction. Let us see that the Congress of July 4th is overwhelmed with petitions from the North, demanding the entire excision of slavery from the government as the only possible settlement of the difficulty. If a majority in any border State manifests a preference for the liberty of the Union over the slavery of the Confederacy, let Congress be instructed that the people will willingly pay any suitable sum to free them from their deplorable embarrassment. I rejoice to say that such petitions are preparing in this city, and will soon be circulating about New England. See that your friends are up and doing likewise in the Empire State.

It is, perhaps, hard to recall what is past of those who are doing as well as can be expected in the present; yet I cannot omit a most forcible illustration of the utter folly, as well as wickedness, of encouraging the mobbing of one's neighbors for using the right of free speech. It is well known that if a certain prominent journal of this city had dared to persist in the consistent utterance of certain pro-slavery opinions, as the Abolitionists have done in those of a contrary character, the very mob it yesterday invoked against Clarke, Emerson, and Phillips, were ready to batter down its office and lynch its editors. If the Abolitionists had so utterly collapsed at finding themselves in a threatened minority, as did this reputable journal in like case, you would have called it unworthy truckling and contemptible cowardice. In the example referred to, pray have the charity to think it one of those sudden conversions to the expediency of good conduct, which are nevertheless genuine. If it had not been for this immediate backing down, or rather backing *up*, the believers in free speech would have had the noble revenge of rallying to defend that right for those who denied it to others.

Do you ask what the minority of calm and wise men say of these present troubles? Something like this: "Much as we abhor war and the terrible spirit it must ever engender, we see in this a healthy solution of our difficulties. There is no longer any question about breaking up, and forming new governments. Thank God for that! Our glorious Union—glorious it *will* be—is preserved by acclamation. Slavery only must depart, carrying to destruction what feeble States it will." Thus say the grave patricians of our city. And the response runs, "Let every man who believes in a fighting point upon the human thermometer take up arms, or actively sustain those who do."

The women of New England are working with heart and strength to furnish forth our regiments. I hope those fitted will engage in the higher work of endeavoring to remove the cause that makes necessary this painful service. Every woman in the land should be enlightened to the point of demanding from the next Congress the only effectual guarantee of public peace and domestic harmony. Those who will instruct their sisters in the real issue of the campaign may do more for our brave troops than sewing machines of every patent can be made to accomplish. This work has already been begun by noble women with us: let every instructed woman in the North assist.

We still bestow a little evening culture upon the vineyard of peace. Mr. Emerson is in the midst of a new course of his delightful excerpts and translations from the book of knowledge. His audience, which thoroughly fills one of our smaller halls, is composed of those representing the higher callings and opinions. Such men as Dr. Bartol, Dr. Hedge, and Dr. Dewey appear in behalf of the liberal clergy, while the representatives of science, education, and moral reform are no less able and conspicuous. Two lectures have already been delivered, the subject of the first being Genius and Temperament, and of the second, Art. They have fully sustained—nay, increased—our sense of the exquisite perceptions of this chief of American poets. His power of clothing the highest metaphysical suspicions in a phrase of ordinary life has never been more happily exercised. If the test of genius, as Ruskin or somebody else declares, be found in pointing to a beauty not of its own creation, and to a knowledge past its own finding out, Mr. Emerson is a possessor in large measure. The best thing one can say of him is, that he sends his audience away *unsatisfied*. He throws noble half-lights on eternal things, which stimulate individual effort to escape from darkness, and this often by ways very different from those he would personally select. The last lecture opened with a graphic notice of the political troubles of the day. Charming our broken English, debased by a thousand associations with unholy things, he reflected as with a glass the insignificant men whose savage contortions before the Southern idol had at length shaken the land with conflict and wrath.

I can say nothing, you see, without getting back to the one topic of the hour. Who would have thought that Emerson, so modest, so full of spirituality and self-control, would suggest any physical belligerence? To his humane and high spirit the conflict seemed profoundly sad; but to others, as I have said, it is less sad than much our country has known. Looked at from any personal or passive point of view, it is terrible and well-nigh distracting; but to him who, trusting in God, determines to fight in his service with such weapons as he can best handle, it is nevertheless radiant with hope.

* * X.

"Proclaim LIBERTY throughout the land, unto all the Inhabitants thereof."

To-day the Slave asks God for a sight of this Banner.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Chronicles of the War.

[WHILE our readers will neither expect nor desire to see in these columns the full details of the war now begun between the Slave Oligarchy and the government of the United States, they will naturally look to us for a brief record of the most important events connected therewith, and especially of whatever therein most affects for good or ill the cause to which this paper is devoted. We shall endeavor, so far as the multifarious claims upon our space will allow, to fulfil their expectations in this respect, taking for granted that they will look to other journals for particulars which it will be quite impossible for us to print.]

THE CAPTURE OF FORT SUMTER.

THE authentic reports of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, furnished by Major Anderson and his brave associates, who arrived in this city on the 18th inst., show that they surrendered only when they had nothing to eat, when their supply of cartridges was exhausted, and when, almost suffocated with smoke, they were in imminent danger of being killed by an explosion of their own magazine. The battle commenced on Friday morning, April 12th, and ended at 1 p.m. on Saturday. Said one of the officers: "Fort Sumter was not evacuated while there was a cartridge to fire, or powder enough left to make one with. Never did famished men work more bravely than they who defended that fortress, knowing, as they did, that if successfully defended and held by them, there was not even a biscuit left to divide among them. They never would have left it while a protecting wall stood around them, had they been provided with provision and ammunition. Every man was true and faithful to his post, and the public may be assured that hunger and want of ammunition alone caused us to leave Fort Sumter. We were all exposed to a most terrible fire from all quarters, and it was only by exercising the utmost care that the officers were enabled to preserve the men from a terrible slaughter. Had there been the full fighting complement of men within its walls, the fort would not have afforded suitable protection for one half of them. The enemy's shot rained in upon and about us like hail, and more men in Sumter would only have made more havoc." The batteries which the traitors had been allowed to build on all the points from which the Fort could be assailed were more than a match for Major Anderson's guns. They had, moreover, a force of 7,000 men, while the number in Fort Sumter was less than 100. The terms of evacuation were that the garrison should take all its individual and company property, that they should march out with their side and other arms with all the honors, in their own way and at their own time; that they should salute their flag, and take it with them. The enemy agreed to furnish transports, as Major Anderson might select, to any part of the country, either by land or water. The evacuation took place on Sunday morning, April 14th. In firing the salute to the Stars and Stripes, the last gun exploded, killing one man instantly, seriously wounding another, and two more not so badly. The men were then formed and marched out, the band playing "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail to the Chief." They went aboard the steamer Isabel, from which they were transferred to the Baltic, which brought them to New York, where they were received by the people with the honor due to recognized heroes.

THE UPRISING OF THE NORTH.

The effect of the attack on Fort Sumter, and of the Proclamation of the President calling for 75,000 troops to crush the rebellion, has been to unite the people of the North as one man. We doubt if ever a summons to war was greeted with such unanimous and overwhelming enthusiasm as that which now pervades the whole line of free States from Maine to Minnesota. All differences of party are forgotten in a common purpose to defend the government against the assaults of the traitorous oligarchy of the South. The leaders of the Democratic party and those of the Belleverett faction, who went with the South to the very verge of open rebellion, and were willing and anxious to surrender every distinctive Northern principle to appease the clamors of the slaveholders and induce them to stay in the Union, have turned suddenly round, and are even more zealous than the Republicans in pushing on the war. On every side we hear them indignantly expressing the purpose to pursue the contest until slavery is utterly "wiped out." They evidently feel that the slaveholders have treated them badly and broken up the party and the Union from motives utterly selfish and base, and they mean to take their revenge by striking at the foundations of the "peculiar institution." Such men as ex-Presidents Fillmore, Buchanan and Pierce, Daniel S. Dickinson, John Cochrane, Fernando Wood, Hiram Ketchum, Edward Everett, etc., etc., are now lifting up their voices for war. So overwhelming is the tide of public opinion, that even the pro-slavery clergy are bending before it. Dr. Spring, Dr. Bethune, Southside Adams, and the whole tribe of which they are the representatives, are as full of patriotism as any of the long-time champions of the "irrepressible conflict." If things go on in this way much longer, it will not be possible to find a parson at the North who is able to discover in the Bible a single text that affords a warrant for slavery! The change in the tone of the pro-slavery press, religious as well as political, is equally marked as well as surprising. Editors who recently filled their columns with apologies for the Secessionists, thus abetting their treason and doing their best to aid their cause, are now fierce for putting down the slaveholding Confederacy by the strong arm.

We cannot afford room to record the movements in the various States for raising troops and money. Suffice it to say that everywhere, from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi, the people are on the move. States, cities, banks and individuals are prompt in advancing funds, and hundreds of thousands are eager to enrol themselves as soldiers. Massachusetts has the honor of being the first to get her troops to the seat of war; and the probability is that Washington has been saved by her promptness from falling into the hands of the rebels. Rhode Island has been scarcely less prompt in her movements, and the other New England States have responded to the President's call with a vigor that must carry dismay to the heart of the South. New York and the middle States are organizing their troops by tens of thousands, and the West is preparing to send forth her hosts for a death-grapple with the Slave Oligarchy.

THE BORDER STATES.

Virginia has joined the traitors, and there is every reason to believe that North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas will follow. The latest reports from Kentucky make it doubtful which way she will finally go. Some influential citizens are endeavoring to place her in a neutral position. In Missouri the struggle will be severe, but we think the Secessionists are likely to have their way in the end. Maryland is nominally in the Union, but virtually in the hands of the Secessionists. The great majority of the people of Delaware are for the Union, and large bodies of soldiers there are offering to fight the traitors, but the Governor, being in sympathy with the South, refuses to provide them with arms. There are some reasons to hope that Western Virginia may separate herself from that part of the State east of the Blue Ridge and unite with the North.

THREATENED ASSAULT UPON WASHINGTON—THE PLANS FOR ITS DEFENCE.

It is understood that the traitors are preparing for an assault upon Washington, not with the expectation of being able to hold it permanently, but to destroy it. Jefferson Davis is reported to have threatened to make that city "a mere stone quarry," by the demolition of the public buildings. He is supposed to be advancing upon it with a large force from the South, while Virginia is believed to be planning an assault on the North, by a force to be sent through and partly gathered in Maryland. Her intention at first was to get possession of the United States Armory at Harper's Ferry, and seize some 15,000 stand of arms deposited therein for the use of her soldiers. Lieutenant Jones, the Superintendent of the Armory, on the night of the 18th inst., being advised of the approach of 2,500 Virginians, and being unable to repel so large a force, destroyed all the buildings and the arms by fire, and retreated to Pennsylvania. The loss of the guns was a sore disappointment to the rebels.

General Scott ordered a large force from the East for the protection of the Capital. The first detachments of troops from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts went through by rail without interruption; but on Friday, the 19th inst., a mob of Secessionists in Baltimore attacked a company of Massachusetts soldiers with bricks, paving stones and fire-arms, as they were marching from the Philadelphia to the Washington Railroad. Knowing that the city was much excited, they bore a white flag, and the Mayor, with a squad of police, went before to protect them. But the mob which surrounded them became furious, and several soldiers were killed or wounded by their missiles. At length, in compliance with the advice of leading citizens of the city, the soldiers fired upon their assailants. Ten citizens were killed and four wounded. Three of the soldiers were killed and eight wounded. Those who were uninjured succeeded in reaching the railroad and taking the train for Washington. A regiment from Philadelphia, mostly unarmed, which reached Baltimore in company with the one from Massachusetts, was compelled to return.

From this time Baltimore fell under the dominion of the traitors. The Mayor and the Governor, finding it impossible to keep the peace, succumbed to the mob, and notified the President that no more troops from the North would be permitted to pass through the city. That very night (Friday) the bridges on the railroads leading north to Harrisburg, Pa., and east to Philadelphia, were burned by order of the Governor. Since that time, troops in large numbers have embarked for Washington by sea, intending either to go up the Potomac, or to land at Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, and go thence by rail. At the present writing, it is uncertain whether they have got through or not. It is reported that a rebel force has possession of Annapolis, and that the branch railroad connecting with the main road from Baltimore to Washington is impassable. The troops, if they go that way, will have to march to the junction, perhaps in the face of a resisting force. It is reported that the President has agreed not to attempt to send troops through Baltimore if the route through Annapolis can be kept open. The rebels will, no doubt, attempt, by means of batteries erected on the shore, to prevent the passage of United States forces and supplies up the Potomac, but it is hoped that the government may find means to defeat their plans. It is clear that communication between Washington and the North can be kept open only by force, promptly and vigorously applied. Without such communication the rebels will have it in their power to starve the people of the Capital in a short time, and thus to get possession without striking a blow.

The condition of Baltimore is fearful. The city is completely under the control of the traitors, and no Northern man's life is safe there. Mr. Allberger, the Mayor of Buffalo, had, until the end of last week, been one of the residents of Baltimore, where his relatives reside. He arrived in New York on Monday, along with some few other gentlemen from the riotous city. They report that mobs parade the city, armed, and force all they meet to execrate the North, the government and the Union. They state that the streets are barricaded, and loopholes cut in the shutters of the houses, through which a deadly fire could be poured upon any troops that should be daring enough to march through the city. Mr. Allberger suffered much during the last few days he was in the city, a mob surrounding him, sick as he was, and trying by means of abusive language to taunt him to reply, which doubtless would have been made a pretext for a violent attack upon him.

On Sunday morning a special train was sent from Philadelphia to Havre de Grace, with a company of workmen under the direction of the Superintendent, who intended to cross the river and repair the damages done to the railroad. A friendly party from the Maryland side warned the Superintendent not to cross the river on any account; that if he did so, it would be at the certain peril of his life. These persons also informed him that all the intermediate bridges to Baltimore were destroyed, and armed parties were assembled to prevent repair or reconstruction. At Havre de Grace they met passengers, who were compelled to take boat from Baltimore to that place the night before. These persons all recounted but one story as to the dangers of the road, and they all expressed the heartiest thanks for their escape. They stated that they experienced the greatest difficulty in getting through without detention and without personal molestation from the excited mobs that roamed Baltimore. The authorities themselves hesitated for a time to let them pass on, and when at last those worthies gave their consent, they came to the resolution that no more travellers would be allowed to pass through their city. The whole population is in a ferment of excitement; the respectable portion of it in an agony of fear and dread under the reign of terror which has raised its horrid head in their midst. Great numbers of the people are flying from their homes and seeking safety in the country. Most, in fact, of those who can go are hurrying off. Terrorism reigned along the whole line within the borders of Maryland.

Hon. Thomas B. Lowry, of Pittsburg, arrived in Philadelphia on Sunday night with dispatches from the Secretary of War to Gen. Patterson. He reached Baltimore Saturday evening, and proceeded North. He rested an hour or two at a farmhouse, near Fort McHenry, and at 3 a.m., Sunday morning, started on his journey. He says: "My rig in the North would be a curiosity. I was met and stopped frequently, but let off on professing to be a minister of the Gospel." When he told the scoundrels that he was a preacher, they told him to "Go to hell," to which he replied, "Brethren, I can pray for you, but I cannot go there." Fort McHenry commands Baltimore, and could shell it, if the rebels should make such a measure necessary. At Harper's Ferry, on the 19th, the train from Baltimore was stopped by loaded cannon placed on the track, in such a way as to rake the cars if the conductor should attempt to proceed. None but Southerners were allowed to go on. The Virginians are said to have a considerable force at that place, and panic reigns throughout the whole neighborhood, which was the scene of the John Brown affair.

The troops from Pennsylvania, which left Harrisburg with the intention of going through Baltimore, and which, on account of the disturbances there, halted a day or two at Cockeysville, Md., have been recalled, and sent toward Washington by the other route. The people in that part of Pennsylvania bordering on Maryland are terribly indignant that the people of the latter State have closed up the way to Washington, thus coöperating with the traitors of the South.

MOVEMENTS OF THE REBELS.

The following proclamation of the President of the cotton Confederacy, which shows that the rebels do not hesitate to add piracy to their other crimes, we put on record as an important item of current history:

Whereas, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, has, by proclamation, announced his intention of invading the Confederacy with an armed force for the purpose of capturing its fortresses, and thereby subverting its independence, and subjecting the free people thereof to the dominion of a foreign power.

And, whereas, It has thus become the duty of this government to repel the threatened invasion, and defend the rights and liberties of the people by all the means which the laws of nations and usages of civilized warfare place at its disposal.

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this, my proclamation, inviting all those who may desire by service in private armed vessels on the high seas, to aid this government in resisting so wanton and wicked an aggression, to make application for commissions or letters of marque or reprisal, to be issued under the seal of these Confederate States; and I do further notify all persons applying for letters of marque to make a statement in writing, giving the name and suitable description of the character, tonnage and force of the vessel, name and place of residence of each owner concerned therein, and the intended number of crew, and to sign each statement, and deliver the same to the Secretary of State, or Collector of the port of entry of these Confederate States, to be by him transmitted to the Secretary of State; and I do further notify all applicants aforesaid, before any commission or letter of marque is issued to any vessel, or the owner or the owners thereof, and the commander for the time being, they will be required to give bond to the Confederate States, with at least two responsible sureties not interested in such vessel, in the penal sum of $5,000, or if such vessel be provided with more than one hundred and fifty men, then in the penal sum of ten thousand dollars, with the condition that the owners, officers and crew, who shall be employed on board such commissioned vessel, shall observe the laws of these Confederate States, and the instructions given them for the regulation of their conduct, that shall satisfy all damages done contrary to the tenor thereof by such vessel during her commission, and deliver up the same when revoked by the President of the Confederate States. And I do further specially enjoin on all persons holding offices, civil and military, under the authority of the Confederate States, that they be vigilant and zealous in the discharge of the duties incident thereto. And I do moreover exhort the good people of these Confederate States, as they love their country, as they prize the blessings of free government, as they feel the wrongs of the past and those now threatened in an aggravated form by those whose enmity is more implacable because unprovoked, they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and efficacy of the laws, and in supporting, invigorating all the measures which may be adopted for a common defence, and by which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, we may hope for a speedy, just and honorable peace.

In witness whereof I have set my hand and have caused the seal of the Confederate States of America to be attached, this seventeenth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

ROBERT TOOMBS, Secretary of State.

This proclamation has been received throughout the North with one burst of indignation, and it is believed that if Jeff. Davis's privateers are caught, they will be dealt with as pirates.

A correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing from Pensacola, April 15th, says: "The excitement here is terrible, although for the past two days slightly modified by the news of Fort Sumter's surrender. I cannot give an idea of the intensity of the feeling which animates all classes. 'If this issue is pressed, and bloodshed results, we will hate the North forever. We will hate it and teach our children to hate it! We will not buy or sell, eat or drink with Northerners!' 'If the North forces us to fight, we will fight like the tigress for her young.' Such expressions are common talk everywhere, and not merely in the exuberance of passion. It is beginning to be regarded as certain that Fort Pickens will not be taken without a desperate conflict, and the probability of great loss to their numbers is freely discussed. Said an officer, at our hotel, 'Let a few hundred Mississippians fall before those ramparts, and, in the hour in which the Fort is taken, every man within it will be put to the sword. The troops cannot be restrained. The cry is, 'Give and ask no quarter.'"

A gentleman from Charleston, who left on the 18th, says that the Southern troops were in most excellent condition and discipline. It was the intention of the Southern Confederacy to march with an army of from 50,000 to 60,000 men, and they expect an addition of at least 50,000 men in going through Virginia.

The Tribune prints the following extracts from the private correspondence of a business firm in this city:

NEW ORLEANS, April 11, 1861.

A very large number of troops have left here within a week for Pensacola, to take Fort Pickens, and every day more are departing. There must be over 10,000 men now at Pensacola. Jeff. Davis has now, including the 21,000 volunteers (who are all ready) recently called for, over 60,000 men that can march at six hours' notice for Washington, and all say here that Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York will be taken within 30 days after war commences, and laid under contribution, to pay all the expenses. Forts Sumter and Pickens is but a blind to a grand strategic Napoleon movement on Washington. When the war begins, a vigor unprecedented will be developed. Sumter and Fort Pickens will be no more thought of. Washington will be the watchword. We all expect New York to join—to receive the grand army of the South with open arms, and as friends the war "will be carried into Africa," and Abolitionism extinguished forever. This moment 500 men marched past my store *en route* for the boat to Mobile, on to Pensacola. Over 5,000 men have left here for that place within six days, yet there is comparatively little excitement here, and business quite brisk.

The military efforts here are tremendous, and there will be a conflict, certain, unless Lincoln and all the free States give all up, and permit the South to control everything just as they please. There is no truth in newspaper reports. The moment any fighting takes place, we all expect Virginia and Maryland to join the South, and push at once for Washington, and they will capture it and probably New York. The whole South are united, determined, full of fight and well-armed, and drilled and well organized, and all believe that there is no fight in the Black Republicans, that they are all cowards—divided among themselves, and an easy prey to the invincible Southerners; and I believe we, the South, will give them fits. Whether Fort Pickens shall be taken or not, Washington will be, and the Black Republicans and their rule crushed out promptly. Then a reconstruction of the Old Union, under our New Confederacy, may perhaps take place.

But no interference with slavery can or will be permitted. The whole South are united, and determined. While Lincoln is dreaming and hesitating, the South is acting, and, as I have before said, we will "carry the war into Africa."

SENATOR SUMNER THREATENED AT BALTIMORE.

On Thursday night of last week, Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, unsuspicious of danger, stopped in Baltimore, and put up at Barnum's Hotel, registered his name, and walked directly out to visit a friend. Very soon, the house was surrounded by fierce, vociferous thousands, crying, "Bring him out!" groaning and threatening to tear down the house. They were assured that there was no such person in the house. At 8½, Mr. Sumner returned, was taken in at a side-door unrecognized, and shown to his room. Here he was speedily waited on by the landlord, and by the manager, who each entreated him to leave, to save his own life, with the house and its contents. He refused, since he could not get out of the city, and had no right to expose a private dwelling to danger. The landlord then put him into another room, and, of course, denied that any such person was in the house. The mob were thus got rid off. He left at 5 a. m., a private carriage taking him from the private door, so that he should not be seen.

FROM WASHINGTON.

The most intense anxiety is felt, lest Washington should fall into the hands of the rebels. Our advices from that city are to Monday night, when our Washington correspondent, Mr. D. W. Bartlett, left with his family, arriving here on Tuesday night. He came by way of Frederick, where he took a stage coach and rode all night across the mountains to Hagerstown. All along the route he met bands of armed Secessionists, excited by liquor and hatred to the North. The spirit of rebellion is spreading even in Western Maryland, but a prominent citizen of Frederick assured Mr. Bartlett that the presence of 2,000 United States soldiers in that place would effectually check the spirit of revolt. If Maryland is not occupied by an army, Mr. Bartlett thinks she will secede within a fortnight.

Mr. Bartlett states that the greatest excitement prevailed at Washington, and the Government considered the city in serious danger. The Capitol was surrounded by defences and guarded like a fortress. The authorities had provisioned it with several thousand barrels of flour. Flour had risen to $16 a barrel, and everything else was dear in proportion. No supplies whatever were brought in either from Maryland or Virginia.

No volunteers had reached the city except the unarmed Pennsylvania regiment that arrived on Wednesday, and the Massachusetts regiment that forced its way through Baltimore. The whole force under arms was only about 4,500, including 700 or 800 regulars and about 2,500 citizens of Washington, one-half of whom were probably at heart Secessionists.

Benjamin McCullough was at Alexandria, nine miles from Washington, with 2,000 troops, encamped in a wood near the city. Gen. Beauregard was reported to be at Richmond. The Virginia force at Harper's Ferry, according to the best intelligence at Washington, was not more than 3,000 in number.

The government had destroyed the bridge over the Potomac at Little Falls, seven miles above Montgomery. Cassius M. Clay has nearly 500 men under arms, who were doing good service as patrols. On Sunday, the government sent a steamer down the river with a heavy battery. The object of this was not known at Washington, but we presume it was to keep the river clear for the passage of the fleet, which left this port on Saturday bound for Washington.

THE LATEST NEWS.

From The Tribune, of Thursday morning.

1. There is no manner of doubt that Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Cotton Republic, is now in Virginia. Our informant travelled with him from Wilmington to Richmond, and listened to his speeches to excited crowds at almost every stopping place on the route. *An immediate dash at Washington*, to result in its capture, was the burden of his strain. And that dash will be made the very moment the rebels believe they can make it with a prospect of success.

2. It was universally asserted and believed on Tuesday in Richmond that General Beauregard was in that city. We presume that is the fact. But Jeff. Davis, with the great body of his army, has not yet moved northward from Charleston, and probably will not participate in the first attack on Washington.

3. The great body of the Pennsylvania volunteers now ready for the field have moved down the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad to Prettymansville on the Susquehanna, opposite Havre de Grace, whence they propose in due time to march straight for Washington through (or over) Baltimore, from which they are but thirty-eight miles distant. Of course they expect to restore the railroad and telegraph as they advance, which will probably involve the consumption of ten days or thereabout in reaching Washington; but meantime the route through Delaware, across the Chesapeake and by Annapolis, will be kept open by the regiments now rushing to the Capital from New York and New England. By this route, without counting a single regiment from Pennsylvania or Ohio, we believe the defenders of Washington will be increased by at least three thousand per day until they shall amount to at least thirty thousand, by which time Pennsylvania and Ohio will have reopened the Baltimore route and added at least twenty thousand to their number.

4. The immediate peril is and has been, not an attack on Washington, but a demonstration by the Virginia and Maryland rebels in force on the line of communication between Annapolis and the Capital. We presume, however, that General Scott sees this as clearly as we do, and is prepared for it.

5. The rebel report of the capture of Fort Pickens by Bragg is not confirmed. There seems little doubt, however, that there has been hard fighting in that quarter, and a report via Memphis affirms that the rebels have lost three hundred men by a cannonade from the Fort.

6. There is no longer a doubt that our 7th Regiment and the Massachusetts 8th reached Washington without loss yesterday, having reached there by way of the Annapolis Junction.

7. Finally, it is our decided belief, from facts within our knowledge, that Major General Patterson set in motion from Philadelphia early yesterday morning the force intended to open the route through Baltimore. Sherman's battery of flying artillery of twelve guns goes with this force. We think we shall hear the first results of this movement within a day or two.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT, who, as we have stated above, left Washington on Monday with his family, sends us, just as we are going to press, a brief letter, of which the following is an extract:

"There is also great danger that Mr. Lincoln will listen to the advice of Mr. Seward, and abandon the Capital. On Sunday it was very evident that Mr. Seward was alarmed, and should he succeed in frightening the President, there is no telling what disgraceful results will follow. It is to be hoped, however, that the presence of more troops in the Capital will stiffen Mr. Seward's backbone.

"Maryland will soon be out of the Union, unless a strong military force should overcome the mob. There is one threat of the Northern journals which carries terror to the hearts of the mad Secessionists, and that is THE THREAT TO LIBERATE EV

THE STANDARD.

THE NEW AMERICAN TARIFF.

MR. GREELEY IN REPLY TO MRS. MARTINEAU.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

In your paper of the 13th inst., Mrs. Martineau makes a savage attack on our new Tariff. Allow me to address your readers briefly in its defence. The attack sums up, rather tersely, all that has been said on the wrong side of this question, and makes a very fair exhibition of the Pharisaic and dogmatic spirit in which the British Free Traders are accustomed to canvass it. It is refreshing to meet an antagonist who begins and ends with telling you that your positions are absurd, your arguments ridiculous, and your measures such as none but a downright fool, or a selfish, unscrupulous knave could possibly support. Whether such is or is not the spirit in which we American Protectionists are dealt with by our British Free Trade friends, let the readers of Mrs. Martineau judge. I proceed to deal patiently and calmly with a few of her more prominent misapprehensions.

1. Mrs. Martineau and her school habitually assume that Protection is a device of American manufacturers intent on securing higher prices for their wares—that it is in effect a conspiracy of the fabricating class to enrich themselves at the expense of the growers of raw staples. A refutation of this assumption is found in the historic fact that, in the order of time, *Protection* PRECEDED *manufactures*. The very first Tariff ever enacted (in 1789) by a Federal Congress in its preamble declares that it was required and intended to provide revenue for the government and "*to protect domestic manufactures.*" The authors and founders of the protective policy among us—Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Hezekiah Niles, Rollin C. Mallary, etc., etc.—were representatives and champions of the Agricultural interest, and acted in its behalf in advocating Protection. Let me make a single citation illustrative of their view of the matter, as summed up by Gen. Jackson in his letter of 1824 to Dr. Coleman of North Carolina:

"I will ask, What is the real situation of the agriculturist? Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus produce? Except for cotton, he has neither a foreign nor a home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market either at home or abroad, that there is too much labor employed in agriculture? and that the channels of labor should be multiplied? Common sense points out at once the remedy. Draw from agriculture the superabundant labor, employ it in mechanism and manufactures, thereby creating a home market for your breadstuffs, and distributing labor to a most profitable account, and benefits to the country will result. *Take from agriculture in the United States six hundred thousand men, women, and children, and you at once give a home market for more breadstuffs than all Europe now furnishes us.* In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of the British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized," etc.

—Of course, I do not cite this to prove the correctness of the view it presents, though I do most fervently believe in it. If anybody chooses to assert that Clay, Niles, Mallary, with Jackson and Calhoun in their better days, were natural fools, I do not care to reply. But that they could not have been intent on knavishly bamboozling our farmers for the aggrandizement of our manufacturers, is pretty conclusively established by the fact that our manufactures were *created*, not merely upheld, by their policy. Abbott Lawrence was a ship-owner and Free Trader—Daniel Webster, as the representative in Congress of Boston capital, was among the ablest and most thorough of our Free Trade advocates—when Clay, Calhoun, Jackson, and Tammany Hall were thundering in behalf of Protection as a means of securing markets and fair prices to the products of our agriculture.

2. Mrs. Martineau courteously apprises us that our Tariff (which she probably had never seen when she wrote) is fraught with "tyranny and injustice," that it is grounded in "selfish greed and blind cruelty," that its enactment was conceived "in a spirit of cupidity," that it is unworthy of "the most stupid and ignorant governments of Europe," with much more, equally convincing and complimentary. Of course, since she knows it all, it will be superfluous to attempt to teach her anything. Yet I must endeavor to pierce the armor of self-conceit and dogmatism in which she has intrenched herself.

There exists in Great Britain a wealthy and powerful company, mainly of cotton manufacturers, known as "The Cotton Supply Association." This company are engaged in opening new and enlarging old fields of cotton culture outside of the United States, and are spending large sums to this end. In other words, *they are in effect paying* LARGER *prices for cotton from Asia, Africa, South America, and the West Indies to-day, in the hope of thereby obtaining it at* LOWER *prices hereafter*. The wisdom of their projects, their efforts, I will not here discuss; our great cotton growers are well known to regard their whole scheme as preposterous, and only kept alive by a crafty few who make money out of it by deluding the wealthy and credulous many.—*Our* Free Traders regard it as a foolish attempt to circumvent the order of nature, like that of Gulliver's sages who devoted themselves to the extraction of sunbeams from cucumbers. They very consistently hold that cotton-spinners should buy their raw material of whomsoever will sell it cheapest to-day, and let the laws of trade, the action and reaction of supply and demand, regulate the volume of production in America, Asia and Africa respectively. Whether Mrs. Martineau sides with our planters or with the Cotton Supply Association, I do not know; I presume, however, that she adheres to her Free Trade principles and agrees with our planters in treating the Cotton Supply Association as a humbug. But will she, can she, insist that, however "stupid" she may esteem them, there is anything conspicuously cruel, or tyrannous, or greedily selfish, in their operations? What they aim at is an adequate, and certain, and reasonably cheap, supply of raw cotton; and to this end they deem it essential to stimulate and encourage its production elsewhere than in our slave States. They say, "To be sure, this costs us money to-day; but we are sure it will return us as much or more in the future; or, if it do not, we shall be ruined in business and our country will reap a harvest from the good seed we are sowing." Would even Mrs. Martineau acquiesce in the assumption that the cotton-spinners, by their Supply movement, were seeking a mean and grasping advantage of our patriarchal cotton-growers?

3. Now, we American Protectionists do not rest in a hypothetical assumption that we *shall* obtain our wares and fabrics cheaper through the agency of Protection; we base our action on established, statistical, undeniable facts. We answer vague declamation by appeals to the recorded prices current of anti-protective and protective eras respectively. Just face these facts: When the protection of the cotton manufacture was first made a feature of our national policy in the Calhoun Tariff of 1816, the minimum (lowest) duty on cotton fabrics was fixed by Mr. Calhoun at *six* cents per square yard—that is, at rather more than fifty per cent. That rate was steadily upheld under successive Tariffs, until our cotton manufacture obtained a development and expansion unparalleled in its extent and rapidity. During the last fiscal year, under a low revenue ad valorem Tariff, we imported ten millions of dollars' worth of cotton fabrics and exported just about the same amount, which exports were sold in open competition with the cheapest rival fabrics that Europe could furnish. But that balance of exports and imports does not fairly exhibit the case, because our foreign trade is so much less universal than that of Great Britain that our exports are far less extensive than they otherwise would be. Ten distributing merchants of Africa, of Australia, India, Ceylon, Brazil, Buenos Ayres, etc., are in direct relations with British exporting houses, where one is with those of the United States, and order their stocks accordingly. Were our facilities for export equal to those of the British, we should doubtless be exporting twice as many cotton fabrics as we import, proving that those fabrics are, in the average, cheaper with us than abroad. Rich and tasteful fabrics are still imported, but very few of the plainer and more substantial. And our new Tariff accordingly imposes a duty on coarse, plain cottons of *one* cent per square yard, or just one-sixth the duty prescribed by Mr. Calhoun forty-five years ago. Has Mrs Martineau honestly endeavored to acquaint herself with the essential facts?

4. Mrs. Martineau, assuming that the new Tariff subjects our consumers to "monopoly prices," exults at the triumphs over these exactions to be achieved through the benignant interposition of wholesale smuggling. She thus threatens us in profound ignorance of two very material facts, viz.: 1. This Tariff is not nearly so high nor so protective as that of 1842, and hardly half so high as that of 1828, under neither of which was there any material expansion or amount of smuggling. 2. While the Tariff of 1842 was in operation, our Free Traders were constantly challenged to a rigid comparison of the prices of wares and fabrics under it with those which had prevailed under the preceding regimen of comparative Free Trade, and they uniformly shrank from the scrutiny. Time and again it was showed, from the unquestionable testimony of the prices current, that important articles which had been charged with protective duties under the new Tariff were then selling in open market at lower prices than were charged for them just before, under the preceding low, revenue Tariff. We shall be ready to make such comparisons under the new Tariff so soon as it shall have fairly taken effect. And if it be true that, given a decided advantage in the American market, our own artisans and fabricants stand ready to supply us with most wares and fabrics as cheaply as we ever obtained them from Europe, where will be the "unjust taxation"? Where the "loss" predicted as certain to "fall on the American public"? Where the new elysium of the smuggler?

5. "Then," says a Free Trader, "if you are going to have cheap metals, wares, and fabrics under your new Tariff, where will be the good of it? How will it help your manufacturers?"

I answer: They will be helped precisely as American newspapers are now helped by the Protection afforded them by the nature of things against injurious rivalry from foreign newspaper establishments. Newspapers are now afforded cheaper, cost and quality considered, in this country than anywhere else—cheaper than they possibly could be but for the existence of effectual Protection. If a bale of British journals, left over as unsalable at home, could come in here and supplant so many American newspapers, just as a ton of British iron, a bale of British calicoes may do, it would not be possible to afford so large and well-got-up sheets at so low prices as *The Tribune* and kindred journals are now sold for. We now print cheap and make a living at prices that would be utterly ruinous if the market for our wares were unsettled and circumscribed by foreign competition. If we were compelled to go to press uncertain that a steamship might not arrive before morning with a consignment of British newspapers that, being rattled off for whatever they would fetch, might supplant and supersede our edition, we could not afford such a journal as *The Tribune* for double its present price.

6. In other words, what is sought by Protection is, to *shorten the distance between producer and consumer, and thereby increase the stability of markets and reduce the cost of exchanges*. If, for example, ten thousand grain-growers over coal and iron ore-beds in Missouri and Illinois, are exchanging their surplus products for metals, wares and fabrics, with fabricants in Western Europe, and the new Tariff should so operate as to transfer the production of those manufactures to the region which grows the grain, cutting off or superseding nine-tenths of the ten thousand go-betweens who now take the food to the manufacturers and bring the fabrics to the farmers, I hold it demonstrable that, no matter though the money prices of the fabrics were enhanced, the real cost of them would be vastly diminished, through the inevitable increase in the price paid to the growers for their grain, while the manufacturers would eat cheaper bread than at present. I will state my conviction of the natural and necessary result of this transfer as follows:

With our workshops in Europe, an Illinois farmer exchanges a thousand bushels of Indian corn at 25 cents per bushel for a ton of average British iron at $60, one hundred yards of various woollen fabrics at an average of $1 50 per yard, and four hundred yards of cotton fabrics at an average of 10 cents per yard—total $250, or the net product of the corn.

With our workshops in Illinois, that same corn would sell at the farmer's door for at least 40 cents per bushel—total $400; while the fabrics aforesaid could not be enhanced in price more than twenty per cent., making their aggregate cost $300, and leaving the farmer a clear cash surplus of $100—a surplus not made *out of* anybody else, but the result of a positive saving of labor in shortening the distance between producer and consumer from four thousand to one or two hundred miles, and thus reducing the cost of exchanging food for fabrics. Mind, I do not admit that the fabrics would, even nominally, cost more in Illinois under efficient Protection than under Free Trade; but I insist that, *if they did*, there would still be an immense gain to both classes of producers, to the country, and to mankind, by Protection.

These views, in substance, have been often put forth on our side—*have they ever been answered?* Do the Free Traders act and talk as if they had ever even read them? Are they justified in treating the matured, life-long convictions of such men as Colbert, and Napoleon I., and Clay, and Niles, and Carey, and the riper conclusions of Webster, with silent contempt? Are they justified in substituting railing for reasoning, and letting abuse stand for argument? I commend the whole subject to the careful, intelligent, searching regard of the American people.

One word with regard to the slavery aspect of this subject. That Mrs. Martineau's political economy is emphatically and absolutely that of the American slaveholders and slave States, is already well known. South Carolina was once for Protection; she gradually ceased to be so, and is now as thoroughly hostile as Mrs. M. could desire. Massachusetts was as heartily for Free Trade; she is now all but unanimous for Protection. In either case, the revolution is founded partly in experience, partly in instinct. A slaveholding community is necessarily rude and primitive in its pursuits, and simple in its applications of industry, while intelligent free labor requires a more varied and complex development. Massachusetts feels this, and knows, by half a century's diverse and fluctuating experiences, that Protection conduces to her ends; South Carolina, under similar leadings, reverses her policy and becomes violently anti-Tariff. Thus Calhoun changed in his riper years from Protection to Free Trade; while Webster, who began as a radical Free Trader, became later in life a champion of Protection. Thus Henry Clay, a slaveholder and compromiser, was always distrusted and opposed by the Slave Power because he was and remained a Protectionist. In politics as in morals, there are intuitions deeper and safer than the deductions of logic.

H. G.

FRANCE AND BONAPARTISM.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WHEN the revolution of February, 1848, burst out, every free mind, every lover of freedom, every oppressed nationality and individual, hoped for happier days to come. On the other hand, the oppressors, emperors, kings, aristocracies, clergies of various orders, feared for their position; we saw them rushing eagerly forward to embrace revolutionary ideas, granting constitutions, a free press and free speech, and swearing to remain faithful and devoted to the welfare and the rights of their people. In France, we saw the chiefs of the army, marshals and generals, offering their swords to the Provisional government. Peers and aristocrats in the streets shook hands with common workmen. The bishops and other clergy were seen going about blessing everywhere and everything, trees of liberty and the ominous red cap itself. The proclamation of a Democratic Republic was shouted thirty-seven times at the House of the Representatives; in short, the whole of France seemed to have but one single heart and soul, both devoted to freedom and human fraternity.

Germany, Prussia, Austria, and Italy, looking at France, endeavored to follow her.

Only a few months after these glorious revolutions, we see a pretender to the Bonapartist system proclaimed President of the new French Republic. Then, again, the enemies of freedom began to hope for better days. The reaction against the revolutionary ideas of France spread over Europe. The Hungarians were shot by hundreds, towns were bombarded, blood flowed everywhere; kings, priests, and officers, who had been the wooers of the revolution, eat their late words, and sought to erase their past acts. They had been hypocrites when they proclaimed themselves men of revolution; they now became traitors, perjurers, and executioners.

This epoch is one of the most shameful in the history of European nations. It might induce some philosophers to despair of the progress of the human race. When, above all, after the criminal success of the *coup d'état*, the transportation to Algeria and Guyana of 1,200 men, defenders of the law and the constitution of their country, and the exile of 30,000 opponents of the perpetrator of such crimes; when this tyrant was courted by European sovereigns, blessed by the Catholic Church, and regarded by the largest portion of the French nation as a demigod, it was enough to make all good men despair.

How has this man succeeded? By fearless disregard of virtue, by employing hypocrisy, lying, fear, corruption, venality, and that whole train of low instincts lurking in the depths of the human heart. A clever conspirator, he flattered every party before his *coup d'état*. He was by turns a Socialist, a Catholic, a deist, a devoted upholder of the free press and parliamentary government. At one time a most fervent friend to the democratic republic; at another, a kind of legitimist. When he had artfully deceived and tempted every political party, he next sought to surround himself with a band of desperadoes. Clandestinely he offered to military men high places and rich salaries; to ambitious civilians, lofty positions and the emoluments of a future Senate, a future Council of State; to the fashionable world he proposed the restoration of an imperial court after the Byzantine model; to the clergy, honors and money; and to the lower people an amelioration of their physical life. When all these low desires were thoroughly awakened, he blasted the republic, and, out of the explosion, he appeared as Emperor!

The great misdoings of the man could not remain without a reckoning being made by the French people. This nation has little political or religious creed, and, although it is servile before power, it is very severely critical of its governments. The French are a clever people, and, sooner or later, it was evident they would judge truly of their position under Bonapartism, and perceive that they had slipt back sixty years into the past. The man knew this, and resolved to involve the nation in some European war to occupy its attention. He wished for a war with England. As representative of Catholicism against Protestantism, democrat and leveller (as he pretended) against aristocracy, republican against monarchy, he could have enlisted divers parties. The poor, who hate the rich, were to be tempted by the offer of the pillage of London, Liverpool, and Manchester; he pleased the soldiers by the idea of avenging Waterloo and the fall of the first empire. All these ideas were skilfully propagated among the French people. He also wished for a war with Germany, and would like to have seized the left bank of the Rhine from Basle to Amsterdam.

His advisers were men known for debauchery, venality, and every moral corruption. They led a jovial life, and their motto was, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die." They said, "We will imitate Sardanapalus; when we see our end is coming we will kindle an immense bonfire." What was this bonfire? It was the project of a universal European war. It was necessary, absolutely indispensable, for the military glory of France, to turn the French army, which had soiled itself as a Janissary body, into a national army. This army, which had committed great crimes against public liberty, had to redeem its character.

Such was the real state of things when the Emperor Nicholas offered the opportunity of the Crimean war. During two years France poured out its money and its children. Two hundred million dollars were spent, and the blood of a hundred thousand soldiers. While this was going on, could France look to her interior concerns? Her vanity was aroused, and Bonapartism was allowed to rest for some years, and the European war was postponed. The Italian war, the Syrian expedition, the Chinese war, all spring from the same causes and produce the same effects. France has had no time to investigate her internal condition. If this man lives some years, France will be engaged in another European war. A war is, with Bonapartism, a governmental necessity. With a war always impending, he keeps the innate warlike spirit of France always awake; he raises hopes of promotion and riches in the hearts of the military, and keeps them the dominant class. With this army of six hundred thousand men he stifles every breath of freedom at home, and he is a permanent danger to his neighbors. France knows this, and to be feared by all Europe gratifies its vanity. But what effect has this course had on the people? With this destruction of the spirit of liberty they have become a whole nation of courtiers. We have to look to Eastern countries to match such a spirit of flattery and fashion of baseness. Every public functionary—the Senate, ministers of state, the very judges on the bench—are obliged to speak in the most bombastic terms of the wisdom, the genius, and the superhuman qualities of the Emperor and of his wife. Every public speech must finish with these words—*Vive l'Empereur, vive l'Imperatrice, vive le Prince Imperial!* If—as in the English *God save the Queen!*—there were any true and honest feeling expressed, it would have its good side. But this is not so; these very men, who are so extravagant in compliment now, heaped insult on him some years ago. During the lapse of eleven years they have shouted *Vive Louis Philippe, Vive les Orleans, Vive Ledru Rollin, Vive Cavagnac;* and they certainly will shout again, Hurrah for whoever becomes the chief of the nation. The people see that these multiple renegades and flatterers lose nothing of their respectability; on the contrary, that they gain money, grades, and honors by their baseness. The people see these things, and naturally endeavor to imitate them.

It is not unjust to say that the greatest part of the present generation is stained with the sin of hypocritical fawning and flattery. There are persons who consider the Emperor as a sort of Providence, and some affirm that he has the gift of performing miracles; that is to say, they speak in this way before his creatures. The first Bonaparte made his followers gamblers; then he paid their debts and became their absolute master, body and soul. The third Bonaparte, perhaps, does not wish to do exactly this, but he induces them to become stockjobbers. The greatest stockjobber in Europe is Morny, the illegitimate son of Queen Hortense. He is the President of the legislative body, the brother of the Emperor, and his principal adviser. The Emperor likes to see the nation carried away by the love of pleasure, money, dissipation, luxury, and licentiousness. He wishes to prove that extravagance in dress among women is an evidence of public prosperity. Balls and public *fêtes* form quite a part of his policy. When France dances and leads a merry life, it does not criticize or wish for a change in its government. In France there is always danger of a government falling if it allows the people to lack excitement. Amusement is a necessity.

This systematic encouragement of pleasure has produced a general laxity of morals. *Femmes galantes* are more numerous than they were before. They are an important part of French society. Marriages decrease in number every year. Outrages against women are increasing, and crimes against children, both male and female, by priests and monks, are every week called before the tribunals. So numerous are the unpunished crimes of the clergy, that the young generation is menaced by pollution both in mind and body. The abuses of the Catholic clergy—confession, etc.—have become doubly dangerous under the imperial system. Bonaparte gives great power and wealth to the Church. Cardinals are Senators, with a salary of $6,000 a year; several bishops are also Senators, and he has increased the revenues of the whole clergy, and thrown into its hands the whole education of the people.

Between Bonaparte and this Catholic clergy this agreement has been entered into: "I will protect you with my sword, and I promise to become a faithful Catholic, and have confessors, almoners, and preachers at my court, all well paid; I will give you admission to the Senate and the House of Representatives, which you did not have under Louis Philippe; I will call you to all sorts of political and social honors; I will give up to you the direction of the young French people; but, as a compensation, you must represent me as the true and sole defender of the Catholic Church, the restorer of order, the guardian of public peace, the true Savior of European society, especially French, a messiah sent and blessed by the Almighty." We dare say more—that this conspiracy against the spirit of freedom has been successful from the election of the President until this time. At that time the cupidity of the clergy, and their fear of revolution, made them guide the votes of their parishioners for *e* Bonaparte. At the *coup d'état* they denounced the friends of freedom, and caused wholesale transportations to Algeria and Guyana. If we may speak openly, many Catholic clergymen denounced those whom they wished to get out of the way, and many a beautiful wife and daughter has been left unprotected and fallen into the hands of a wicked priest.

There is now a gulf between the clergy and the Emperor, on the pretence of the threatened fall of the temporal power of the Church. Several bishops have publicly insulted him, and the clergy undermine his authority with the people. They compare him to Pilate, and now they begin to call him a renegade and revolutionist. But this quarrel about the Papacy is a pretence; they are undermining his power because they fear the future, and must prepare for it. It is not impossible Napoleon III. may die, and they know how that this system cannot be maintained. The love of freedom may rise again, and this prudent clergy must be prepared for new treason. This state of things will exist as long as the Catholic Church is an established Church. Until the Church is, as in your United States, quite separate from politics, so long will it be inconsistent and basely hypocritical.

Is the judicial body more honorable than the Catholic clergy? Yes, in a degree, I believe; but it is not so honorable as it was under Louis Philippe, or under the Restoration. It is not restrained by a free press or a free tribune, and its endeavor is not solely to give just, impartial judgments, but to give them in accordance with the pleasure of a court. It is true that the lower people and the army are devoted to Bonaparte. This devotion renders him invulnerable: at present he is the most powerful and most irresponsible despot in the world. He has nothing to fear in his palace from any conspiracy of his courtiers, as in Russia and Turkey; nor is there any danger of an insurrection or a revolution, nor will he fall by a coalition. Until he has lost three millions of soldiers in battle, he may defy all Europe and sit safely on his throne. France, without the power of writing or speaking freely, is safe in one sense—that is, Napoleon is safe. How long will this last? Certainly as long as the Emperor lives.

After his death a change will happen. Bonapartism has debased the character and the feelings of the French people, but I trust much to the elasticity and inconsistency of the Celtic race. A few years have been enough to cast it into degradation; let us hope a few years may again raise it to a higher moral standard. This elasticity is an historical characteristic of the French people. And therefore I hope; for in the records of mankind, I see that redeemers arise, who, by a fiat of Almighty God, are able to raise their fellow-creatures.

When you despair of France in consequence of its repeated backslidings from the spirit of liberty into a Byzantine state of degradation, read and read again the eighteenth chapter of Genesis. See how great is the influence of righteousness.

Now there are still some lovers of freedom in France, and for their sake I trust freedom will not be destroyed.

QUEEN VICTORIA, several years ago, on leaving her Highland residence for the season, promised to Jenny ——, daughter of a cotter in the vicinity, to bring a toy to her next year. During the interval some very important State affairs passed, and the Queen was over in France on a visit to the Emperor. The promise was all but forgotten on the one side—that of the Highland girl; not so on the other, for, on arriving at Balmoral next season, her Majesty presented the humble lassie with the promised toy, remarking, "See, I have not forgotten you."

THE MILL CLOSED.

O MARY, they have closed the mill,
The looms are silent now;
And we must stoop with heavy souls
Beneath the rod to bow.
I feel a throbbing in my heart—
A chill within my breast—
And long to lay my weary form
Within the grave to rest;
For life has been a ceaseless strife
With cares that ever grew;
We slaved, and starved, and NOW, alas!
O God! what shall we do?

I've seen thee weep, when thou didst think
Thy tears I could not see;
And seen thee put aside thy food
That baby fed might be;
While oft thou forced a loving smile,
Although thy heart was sore;
And kissed my pale and bloodless cheek,
And bade me grieve no more.
But now thou canst not hide thy tears;
Thy lips they quiver, too;
Thy hand, it trembles in my own;
O God! what shall we do?

Thy fingers they are thin and worn
With needlework so cheap;
Thy eyes are red, thy brow is cold,
For want of rest and sleep.
Our little infant, fevered, droops,
And soon will be no more:
It had not starved had I been rich,
But I, alas, am poor.
I wonder if the wealthy great
Would help us if they knew
Our wretched fate? The thought is vain;
O God! what shall we do?

For never shall these lips of mine
A pauper's pittance crave
While I have life, though after death
I fill a pauper's grave.
My soul grows fierce. Oh! that my voice
Could ring throughout the land,
And breathe the cares, the wants, and fate,
Of Labor's starving band;
And bid the Lords of Gold beware,
Lest they, like us, may sue,
When Revolution comes, and cry—
"O God! what shall we do?"

—*Songs of Labor, by John Plummer.*

WAR FOR LIBERTY BETTER THAN A COWARDLY PEACE.

From a Sermon by HENRY WARD BEECHER.

FOR the first time in the history of this nation there is a deliberate and extensive preparation for war, and this country has received the deadly thrust of bullet and bayonet from the hands of her own children. If we could have prevented it, this should not have taken place. But it is a fact! It hath happened! The question is no longer a question of choice. The war is brought to us. Shall we retreat, or shall we accept the hard conditions on which we are to maintain the principles of our fathers? Hearing the voice of God in his providence saying, "Go forward!" shall we go?

Before I speak of some conditions on which we may have peace, let me say in advance, that no man shall paint the horrors of war so vividly as that I shall shrink from them. I go with those that go furthest in describing the wretchedness and wickedness and monstrosity of war. The only point on which I should probably differ from any is this: that while war is one of those evils the exponents of which are so presented to our senses that we measure and estimate it, there are other evils just as great, and much more terrible, only we have not the power of impressing our senses with their mischiefs. I hold that it is ten thousand times better to have war than to have slavery. I hold that to be corrupted silently by giving up manhood, by degenerating, by becoming cravens, by yielding one right after another, is infinitely worse than war. Why, war is resurrection in comparison with the state to which we should be brought in such an event. And although war is a terrible evil, there are other evils that are more terrible. In our own peculiar case, though I would say nothing to garnish it, nothing to palliate it, nothing to alleviate it, nothing to make you more willing to have it, nothing to remove the just abhorrence which every man and patriot should have for it, yet I would say that in the particular condition into which we have been brought, it will not be an unmixed evil. Eighty years of unexampled prosperity have gone far toward making us a people that judge of moral questions by their relation to our convenience and ease. We are in great danger of becoming a people that shall measure by worthy things—by the lowest standard of a commercial expediency. We have never suffered for our principles. And now, if it please God to do that which daily we pray that he might avert—if it please God to wrap this nation in war, one result will follow: we shall be called to suffer for our faith. We shall be called to the heroism of doing, and daring, and bearing, and suffering for the things which we believe to be vital to the salvation of this people.

On what conditions, then, may we retreat from this war, and on what conditions may we have peace?

1. We may do it on condition that two-thirds of this nation shall implicitly yield up to the dictation of one-third. You can have peace on that ground. Italy could have had peace at the hands of Francis II. They had nothing to do but to say to that tyrant, "Here is my neck: put your foot on it," to obtain peace. The people of Hungary may have peace, if they will only say to him of Vienna, "Reign over us as you please; our lives are in your hands." There is never any trouble in having peace, if men will yield themselves to the control of those that have no business to control them. Two-thirds of this nation unquestionably stand on the side of the original articles of our Constitution, and in the service of liberty, and one-third say "No!" Now, if the two-thirds will give up to the one-third we can have peace—a little while.

2. We can have peace if we can legalize and establish the right of any discontented community to rebel, and set up intestine governments within the government of the United States. Yield that principle, demoralize government, and you can have peace—for a little while. You cannot yield that principle and not demoralize government.

3. We can have peace if we will agree fundamentally to change our Constitution, and, instead of maintaining a charter of universal freedom, write it out as a deliberate charter of oppression.

Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the so-called Confederate States, declared, in a formal speech, that our Constitution was framed on a fundamental mistake, inasmuch as it took it for granted that men were born for freedom and equality. And that is the ground taken by those States. It is according to the reading of their new Constitution. They have expunged the doctrine of universal liberty, and put in its place the doctrine of liberty to the strong and servitude to the weak—for that is just what it comes to. It is said that the African race, by reason of their nationality and savageism, are not fit for liberty, and that the white race, by reason of their nationality and civilization, are fit to govern them. It is merely a plea that weak persons are not fit to take care of themselves, and that strong persons are fit to take care of them; and it is a plea that is just as applicable to any other peoples as to the Anglo-Saxons and the Africans. It is simply a doctrine that might makes right. It may be stated in this form: "You are weak, and I am strong, and I am therefore your lawful master." If it is good with reference to the Africans and the Anglo-Saxons, it is good with reference to all other races. And if it is good in reference to races, it is good in reference to individuals. Therefore, there is not a workman, there is not a poor man, there is not a man that is low in station, at the North, who is not interested in this matter, who is not touched in his rights, and who is not insulted, by the spirit that lies radical in the new Constitution of the so-called Confederate States, which holds that there is appointed of God a governing class and a class to be governed—a class that are born governors because they are strong and smart and well-to-do, and a class that are born servants because they are poor and weak and unable to take care of themselves. Now take that glorious, flaming sentence in the Declaration of Independence, which asserts the right of every man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and which pronounces that right to be alike inalienable to all—take that and strike it out, and put in its place this infernal article of the new Constitution of the Southern States, and you can have peace—for a little while. There is no trouble about having peace. What an unreasonable people we are! If we will only pay enough for peace we can have it.

This diabolical principle is also deliberately held and advocated by the Churches of the South. I hold that the Southern Churches are all of them sound on the question of the Bible, and infidel on the question of its contents! They believe that this is God's Book; they believe that this Book is the world's charter; and they believe that it teaches the religion of servitude. Every sermon that I have received within the last year from the South has been a various echo of this one atrocious ground, held in common with all the despotic preachers of Europe. Any man that has read old South's sermons, has read over and over again all the arguments contained in the raw, jejune productions of Southern clerical advocates for oppression. In all the discussions between Milton and Salmasius, and in all the writings of Roman priests that have sought to bolster up sacerdotal rule, these arguments have been put forth far more ably than our unscholarly Southerners have put them forth. But this is the ground which has been taken by the Christian Church of the South: that in Christ Jesus all men are not created equal—that white masters are, but that black servants are not!

And that is not all. Not only is this new government framed on this ground, and not only have all the Churches of the South taken this ground, so that it may be said of the Southern Confederacy as it was said of one of the old revolted tribes, "They have a priest to their house"—not only this, but there has just now been raised up in the North a cub of the same kind—a society for the promotion of *national unity*, on the basis of a change of our national instruments of government. This society proposes to restore peace to this country. And how? Exactly as you restore uniformity of color in a room where some things are red, some blue, and some yellow—by blowing the light out so that all things will be of the same color! We are very much divided in this land, one part believing in liberty and the other believing in servitude; and it is proposed to bring these two parts together in unity, by destroying the distinction between them. What is this society's own statement, as contained in the letter which they have put forth with their articles? They make this formal assertion: that that portion of our original Declaration of Independence which makes all men free and equal, has been misinterpreted, or is false. They endeavor to say it soft; but it is a thing that cannot be said soft. To breathe it, to whisper it, makes it louder than thunder.

Indeed, it is true that men are not physiologically equal. No man ever believed that they were. They do not weigh alike. They differ in respect to bone and tissue. They are not the same as regards mental calibre. Their dynamic forces are different. They are not capable of exerting the same amount of political influence. In the nations of Europe it was held that the royal head, *jure Divino*, had privileges which the nobles had not; that there belonged to the nobles prerogatives which did not belong to the commonalty; and that the political rights of the great common people were to be graduated according to their status in society. But our fathers said, "God gives the same political rights to all alike. The people are king, and the people are nobles. They are equal in this: that they all stand before the same law of justice, and that justice is to be the same to one as to another. The richest and the poorest, the wisest and the most ignorant, the highest and the lowest, are on an equality in this regard." And what was meant by the Declaration of Independence was, that every man born into life was born with such dignities, with such a nature, conferred upon him, that, as a child of God, he has a right to confront government, and legislature, and laws, and say, "I demand, in common with every other man, justice, protection, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And this is what our society in the North for the promotion of national unity undertake, in their first article, to say is a lie!

Now, you can have your American eagle as you want it. If with the South you will strike out his eyes, then you shall stand with Mr. Davis and Mr. Stephens of the Confederate States; if with the Christians of the South you will pluck off his wings, you shall stand with the Southern Churches; and if, with the new peacemakers that have risen up in the North, you will pull out his tail feathers, you shall stand with the society for the promotion of national unity! But when you have stricken out his eyes so that he can no longer see, when you have plucked off his wings so that he can no longer fly, and when you have pulled out his guiding tail feathers so that he can no longer steer himself, but rolls in the dirt a mere buzzard, then will he be worth preserving? Such an eagle it is that they mean to serve up for the banquet of liberty!

4. We must accordingly, if we go on to purchase peace on these terms, become partners in slavery, and consent, for the sake of peace, to ratify this gigantic evil. We cannot wink at it. We are called to bear overt witness either for or against it. Every State in this Union, according to the new Constitution, must be open to slavery. It is the design of not a few men at the North to make this the issue at the next election: whether we shall not reconstruct this government according to the Constitution of the Confederate States, one feature of which is that it proposes that slavery shall have liberty to go wherever it pleases—that slavery shall have the right of incursion in any part of this country. If you consent to such a reconstruction as is proposed, you must open every one of your States to the incoming of slavery. Not only that, but every Territory on this continent is to be opened to slavery, if a reconstruction like this takes place. We are called to take the executive lancet, and the virus of slavery, and lift up the arm of this virgin continent, and inoculate it with this terrific poison. If you will do these things you are to be permitted to escape war.

5. Next in order must, of course, be silence. When we have gone so far we shall no longer have any right of discussion, of debate, of criticism—we shall no longer have any right, as it is called, of *agitation*.

On these conditions we may have peace. If we reject these conditions we are to have separation, demoralization of government, and war.

Now, are you prepared to take peace on these conditions? You will not get it on any other conditions. If you have peace, you are to stigmatize the whole history of the past; you are to yield your religious convictions; you are to give over the government into the hands of factious revolutionists; you are to suppress every manly sentiment, and every sympathy for the oppressed. Will you take peace on such a ground as that? So far as I myself am concerned, I utterly abhor peace on any such ground. Give me war redder than blood, and fiercer than fire, so that with this terrific infliction I may maintain my faith of God in human liberty; my faith of the fathers in the instruments of liberty; my faith in this land as the appointed abode and chosen refuge of liberty for all the earth! War is terrible, but this abyss of ignominy is yet more terrible.

What, then, if we will go forward in the providence of God, and maintain our integrity, are the steps that are before us?

1. Instead of yielding our convictions, it is time to cleanse them; to deepen them; to give them more power; to make them more earnest and more religious. There is no reason, now, why we should compromise. There is nothing to be gained by compromising. And it is time that parents should talk on the subject in the family, and indoctrinate their children with an abhorrence for slavery, and a love for liberty. It is time for schools to have their scholars instructed in these matters. It is time for every Church to make its pews flame and glow with enthusiasm for freedom, and hatred for oppression. While the air of the South is full of pestilent doctrines of slavery, accursed be our communities, if we will not be as zealous and enthusiastic for liberty as they are against it. If their air is filled with the storm and madness of oppression, let ours be full of the sweet peace and love of liberty.

2. We must draw the lines. There have been a great many men that have been on both sides. There have been a great many men that have been thrown backward and forward from one side to the other, like a shuttle. But it is time for every man to choose one side or the other. We want no shufflers; we want no craven cowards; we want *men;* we want every man to show his hand, and say, "I am for liberty, and the Constitution, and the country, as our fathers gave them to us," or else, if he does not believe in these, say, "I am against them." It is time that middle men were kicked out! Times are coming in which the lines are being drawn.

We must say in this matter, my friends, as Christ said, "He that is not for us is against us." I will have no commerce, I will not cross palms, with a man that disowns liberty in such a struggle as is before us? I will not give him shelter or house-room—except as a convicted sinner; then I will take him, as the prodigal was taken, in his rags and nakedness! But so long as he stands up with impudent face against the things that are dearest to God's heart, and dearest to the instincts of this people, I shall treat him as what he is—a *traitor!* There ought to be but one feeling in the North, and that ought to be a feeling for liberty, which should sweep through the land like a mighty wind.

3. We must not stop to measure costs—especially the costs of going forward—on any basis so mean and narrow as that of pecuniary prosperity. We must put our honor and religion into this struggle. God is helping you; for no matter how much you deplore the state of things, you cannot help yourselves. You may talk with your till, and safe, and bank, and you may look at your accounts on both sides, but your talking and looking will make no difference with your affairs. The time is past in which these things could be of any avail. This matter must now be settled. You must have a part in settling it. The question is whether that shall be a manly or an ignoble part.

With the North is the strength, the population, the courage. I stand for this truth: that there is not on this continent that breadth of courage—the courage of a man in distinction from the courage of a brute beast—which there is in the free States of the North. It was General Scott that said that the New Englanders were the hardest to get into a fight, and the most terrible to meet in a conflict, of any set of men on the globe. And we have no braggart courage; we have no courage that rushes into an affray for the love of fighting. We have that courage which comes from calm intelligence. We have that courage which comes from broad moral sentiment. We have no anger, but we have indignation. We have no irritable passion, but we have fixed will. We regard war and contest as the last evils; but when, detesting them as we do, we are roused so as to enter into them, our courage will be of the measure of our detestation. You may be sure that the cause which can stir up the feelings of the North sufficiently to bring them into such a conflict, will develop in them a courage that will be terrific to the men who have to meet it. I could wish no worse punishment to those that decry the courage of the North, than that they shall have to meet her when she is once brought out, and fairly in the field.

4. We must aim at a peace built on foundations so solid, of God's immutable truth, that nothing can reach to unsettle it. Let this matter never come up again. Better have it thoroughly settled, though it take a score of years to settle it, than to have an intermittent fever for the next hundred years, breaking out every five or ten years. It is bad. That has nothing to do with it. Your house is on fire; and the question is, What will you do? You are in